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# O B S E R V E R



ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

SYLVIA PANKHURST

EDUCATION REPORT

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## Cover Illustration

Sylvia Pankhurst in her home in England, shortly before leaving for Ethiopia in 1956.

# ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

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The Emperor Haile Selassie I and the late Sylvia Pankhurst at a gathering in London in aid of the Ethiopian cause during the Italian usurpation

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## ETHIOPIA OBSERVER

This is the first ETHIOPIA OBSERVER of a new quarterly series. Each issue will have the same number of pages as three of the monthlies, so that our readers will still receive the same number of pages a year for the same price.

The journal will continue to mirror Ethiopia to the outside world, and to itself, following the tradition established by its founder to whom this issue is dedicated and whose articles will continue to appear for some time.

The policy of concentrating attention on a few topics, to be treated exhaustively, will be the more easily maintained as a larger number of pages are available per issue. Contributions, comments, and suggestions from readers are welcome.

The emphasis will be on questions of permanent rather than topical interest. In addition an attempt will be made to include in each issue articles of more general and varied interest.

# Ethiopia's Achievements and Objectives

## Full text of the Emperor Haile Sellassie's Important Coronation Speech

delivered in the Ethiopian Parliament, 3rd November, 1960

Today marks the fourth occasion on which we have addressed our Members of Parliament assembled in joint session since, on the 25th anniversary of our accession to the Throne of the Empire of Ethiopia, we bestowed upon our beloved people, of our own free will a Revised Constitution. Three years ago, in implementation of the provisions of that Constitution, free elections were held throughout our Empire and our people participated directly in the choice of their representatives in this legislative body. Our decision to confer upon our beloved people an increasing role in the conduct of public affairs of our Government was based upon the firm conviction that political growth must accompany the advances in the social, economic and commercial life of our empire which we have witnessed during the years throughout which, by the Grace of Almighty God, we have served our beloved people as Emperor of Ethiopia.

Within a few months, new elections will be held, and on this day next year a new Parliament will convene here. Accordingly, it has appeared appropriate for us to consider with you briefly your achievements during the three years since the elected members of this body first took their seats in this body.

The results of your work in this assemblage can be judged, in some measure, by the legislative measure which you have enacted since you first took office. This record is written large for all to see in the pages of the Laws of our Empire.

But there is another standard by which your labours must be gauged. When we first addressed you three years ago, we pointed out the paramount importance of your task as the link between us and our people. We recommended to you then the cultivation of certain habits of mind and the development, in your work of those virtues which would enable you to best serve the interests of your country as her devoted servants. Today, no-one but you, in your innermost hearts, really knows whether the words which we spoke then have been heeded. You alone know whether you have succeeded in placing country above self, whether you have, in your debates, placed uppermost the broad interests of our people and our Empire. If you can today, with clear conscience, look back upon three years of devoted labour in this august body, if you can aver that in your deliberations you have been ever guided by principles and ideals of the highest order, your contribution to the further progress of our people will have been great indeed, and this generation, and numberless generations to come will owe to you a debt of gratitude.

In reviewing the past year, it is obvious that much that is praiseworthy has been achieved. These accomplishments, however, while cause for satisfaction, must

not blind us to the fact that much yet remains to be done. Today, we call upon each one of you to rededicate yourself in the service of the Empire of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian people. You must never forget that as the legislative arm of our Empire, it is your duty to insure that in your decisions concerning draft laws which come before you, you maintain as your fundamental criterion the well-being of our people and our Empire. You must work in a spirit of co-operation with the executive branch of Our Government, for only if your work complements and harmonises with that of our ministries and departments will our people benefit to the maximum from the exercise by all of the branches of our Government of the powers which have been conferred upon them.

The education of our people has long occupied a place of the highest priority in the long-range objectives which we laid down for Our Empire since the earliest days of our reign. We have stated in the past that in the education of her youth and in the training in modern knowledge of the younger generation reposes the hope of Ethiopia and the key to her future. We persist in this conviction.

During the twelve months past, new schools have been opened and additional numbers of teachers have taken their places in the classrooms of these schools. A large group of graduates from institutions of higher learning abroad have returned to Ethiopia to devote themselves to the cause of their motherland.

### New University

It has always been Our aim and desire that Ethiopia's educational facilities span the broad expanse stretching from primary education to graduate studies. Eleven years ago on this very day, we laid the foundation stone for a full University to be established in our capital city and we had anticipated that this project would proceed to speedy completion. However, because of unforeseen difficulties, including delays in the extending of promised assistance, it was not until this past year that firm decisions were taken looking to the ultimate realisation of this long-cherished desire. God willing, construction of this University will commence during the present year. In this institution, Our youth will receive training in law, in medicine, in economics, in science and in the fine arts, up to and including the graduate level. We are grateful to the Government of the United States of America which is aiding us in the realisation of this project.

It is essential that the educational facilities of our Empire be available to all Ethiopians, and in fixing the sites of new schools, We have ensured that they have been

built in the four corners of Our Empire, and We have urged Our people to utilise the schools thus established to their full capacity. Moreover, since education should be denied to no-one, We are sharing this most precious of gifts with other African peoples, and large numbers of students from other states and territories of this continent are studying at Ethiopian institutions to-day, many of them under scholarships which We have granted to them. The African peoples, so long denied the benefits of education, must co-operate together in concentrating their efforts on this most critical and important problem. Education knows no boundaries, nor does it distinguish among men on the basis of differences in race, colour or creed, and the regrettable situation which today exists in the Congo can in large measure be traced to the lack of adequate education of the Congolese people.

### Health Centres

Just as education assures the development and well-being of man, so must man's body be free from the scourges and ravages of illness and disease, and in the field of public health, praiseworthy advances have been made in the expansion of public health facilities throughout our Empire. Modern health centres have recently been established in a number of the larger towns, and several dozen clinics are being organised which will serve in smaller centres in the alleviation of disease. A modern and efficient Provincial Health Administration is being established in implementation of the health tax promulgated by Us and approved by our Parliament to provide for the most efficient and effective administration of the revenue derived from this tax. Ethiopia is co-operating in the world-wide drive that is underway to eliminate Malaria from the Earth, and effective measures are being taken to this end following decisions reached at the World Health Organisation's Malaria Conference held in Addis Ababa in November of last year.

The past year has seen increased emphasis placed upon the role community development programmes can play in improving the life of the Ethiopian farmer. The fundamental purpose of community development movement is to teach the rural people of Our Empire that through co-operative self-help and a united approach to common problems, the vast potential for their own self-improvement, which they themselves represent, can be translated into effective programmes which can do much to improve their standard of living. While the inauguration of community development programmes in Ethiopia is of relatively recent date, much has already been accomplished. A Community Development Training Centre was inaugurated by Us at Awasa for the training of personnel who will subsequently go throughout Our Empire disseminating among Our people the knowledge they acquired during their training.

The co-operative movement has long been known throughout the world, and We ourselves have on numerous occasions urged our people to join increasingly in co-operative enterprises. Co-operatives must, ultimately, play a highly important role in the growth of our economy, and no time can be lost in availing ourselves of the benefits to be derived from them. During the

past year, we decided upon a programme designed to provide specific encouragement to the creation of agricultural co-operatives, and a number of Government-sponsored co-operative farms have been established by our Ministry of National Community Development. We have provided land agricultural machinery and experts assistance to these farms, and we entertain high hopes that their success will spur our people to embark increasingly upon co-operative endeavours. Should our people fail to avail themselves of this opportunity, the consequences will be regrettable indeed.

### Land Development

Since Ethiopia's economy is predominantly agricultural, agriculture must play a large role in the plans which have been drawn up, at Our command, for Our Empire's development. In implementation of the project which We announced to Our beloved people fourteen months ago for the stimulation of increased agricultural production, Our representatives have visited each province of Our Empire and over two million dollars has been made available to Our farmers for use in expanding and improving their farming activities. Other measures are being put into effect designed to encourage and facilitate greater crop yields. The Ethiopian Grain Corporation has been established, at Our order, to guarantee to Our farmers some degree of security in marketing their production and to protect them from unpredictable price fluctuations. Steps are being taken to rid Ethiopia's farmlands of the plagues which have periodically devastated Our people's crops, and, with the assistance of the United Nations, an expanded locust control programme is being undertaken.

### Modernize Banks

In order to provide Our country with a sound and modern banking structure, We ordered, many months ago, that the revision of Ethiopia's banking system be studied as a matter of the highest urgency. Experts of Our Government, aided by technicians from international banking institutions, have completed their work and the laws necessary to accomplish the revision of the banking system in the manner unanimously recommended to Us will be submitted to you shortly.

Noteworthy developments have occurred in the field of both domestic and international communications during the past year. Communication among men facilitates the interchange of goods and ideas, and these, in their turn, provide the stimulus for increasing the level and the rate of man's social, economic and political development. A new airline terminal was opened in Addis Ababa providing improved facilities for passengers travelling by air to and from Ethiopia. The international services of Ethiopian Airlines to Europe have been greatly expanded. New air rights have been negotiated, and new routes will be inaugurated in the near future, including a route to West Africa which, commencing next week, will link this continent more closely together. Decisions have been taken to embark upon the transformation of Ethiopian Airlines to jet aircraft and for the construction of a new and modern international airport which will be built in Addis Ababa to provide all modern traffic facilities.

Similarly, work has proceeded apace on the expansion of Ethiopia's road system. Contracts for the construction of new roads have been let, and negotiations have been carried on with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United States Development Loan Fund for the financing of the further expansion of Ethiopia's highways. Ultimately, even the most remote corner of our Empire will enjoy the benefits of rapid and efficient road transportation.

Arrangements have also been concluded for additional projects which will assist greatly in improving internal communications within Our Empire. The telephone facilities operated by the Imperial Board of Telecommunications will be considerably expanded with the financial assistance of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Our radio broadcasting services have been improved and work will begin shortly on the construction of powerful radio facilities which will reach every village in our Empire and will create among our people a heightened awareness of the unity which binds Ethiopia together as one nation.

In November of last year, a Treaty was concluded between Ethiopia and the Republic of France concerning the future administration of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway, under which the Railway Company acquires Ethiopian nationality and will have its main offices in Addis Ababa. With the conclusion of this agreement, Ethiopia becomes a full partner in the operation of this vital rail link, and this enhanced status will make its own particular contribution to the further expansion of Ethiopia's economy.

### New Industries

In the industrial field, as well, development has proceeded satisfactorily. New factories have been opened. Koka Dam is providing cheaper electric power to our people and will stimulate further industrialisation. Work is proceeding on schedule for the survey of the waters of the Blue Nile and plans are being carried forward for the development of the Awash and Webi Shebella valleys. A contract has been concluded for the utilisation of a portion of the credit granted by the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia for the construction of a modern cement plant near Addis Ababa.

There are numerous other projects which, while still in the planning stage, will be commenced during the coming year. Among these, we would single out for particular mention our plans for the construction of the new town of Bahar Dar. This town is being planned with the assistance of experts provided by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, and will include schools, hospitals, industrial plants and all modern facilities. In implementation of the magnanimous gesture made to us during our state visit to the Soviet Union, a technical high-school for 1,000 students will be constructed at Bahar Dar as the gift of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In Our efforts to improve the life of Our people, We have constantly sought to attract private capital to Ethiopia for investment in both industrial and agricultural undertakings. Our efforts have not, unfortunately, met with the full measure of success which they

warrant. But Our Empire's development cannot be delayed because private capital is scarce or unwilling to invest in Ethiopian enterprises, and We have been obliged to initiate ourselves in past years a number of projects which could equally well have been financed with private assistance. Today, however, fuller recognition is being accorded to the importance of Africa in the world's economic structure, and closer attention is being paid to the possibilities for private capital investment here. Despite past disappointments, Ethiopia continues to welcome private investment, and We are confident that it has a vital role to play in Our Country's continuing growth.

### Foreign Investor

But it must be remembered that investment in any under developed country, be it Ethiopia or another, is in the nature of a partnership. We, seeking to attract capital must recognise that the investor is entitled to a fair and reasonable profit, and we must be prepared to accord those reasonable concessions which are necessary to meet the needs, the desires and the fears of private investors. But conversely, the investor must recognise that he has certain obligations to fulfil to the country in which he is investing. His investment must take a real contribution to the development of the economy of that country. He must recognise that he has obligations not only to the workers who labour for him, but, in a very broad and general sense, to the entire population of that country. The partner who places his own short-range ambitions ahead of the long-range interests of the partnership has embarked on a course which will ultimately result in the dissolution of the partnership itself.

As a sovereign nation, jealous of her independence, Ethiopia has a duty both to her own people and to the other free peoples of the world to ensure that aggression will be resisted wherever and in whatever form it is met. It is today the duty of each state which is dedicated to the cause of peace to be prepared to fulfil its commitments to the United Nations in defence of the principle of collective security and to stand ready at all times to discharge these obligations. Ethiopia's armed forces have, during the past year, been built up to a high degree of efficiency. The Imperial Ethiopian Air Force has now been expanded to include jet fighters, furnished by the United States of America under its military assistance programme. Decisions have been reached during the past year which will result in further expansion of the ground forces of the Imperial Ethiopian Army and in the provision of additional equipment for Ethiopia's small but growing Navy. We pray that it may never be necessary to do battle, but we must, at the same time, be prepared to use these arms in resisting international aggression should events so require.

### World Contacts

Turning to Ethiopia's foreign relations, 1952\* has witnessed the continued expansion of Our Empire's contacts with other nations of the world. New embassies have been established in Our capital and We welcome the increased communication with these nations which the expansion of diplomatic relations carries in its wake.

\* Ethiopian Calendar.

Under the sponsorship of the Economic Commission for Africa, several international conferences have been held in Addis Ababa and the representatives of the members and observers to the E.C.A., who have come here have come to know more of us, as we have of them. It has been an honour and a privilege for Ethiopia to welcome these fellow Africans to our midst.

In December last, in response to the gracious invitation of His Excellency El Farik Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces and Prime Minister of the Republic of the Sudan, We visited this great sister nation and neighbour of Ethiopia and received while there, the warmest and most hospitable of welcomes. Today, as further testimony of the indissoluble ties which link Ethiopia and the Sudan in the closest of friendly relations, President Abboud is with Us, as Our invited and honoured guest. Our two countries sharing a common frontier, enjoying jointly the wealth and richness of the waters of the Blue Nile, drawing upon a long history of peaceful and amicable relations, have determined upon the adoption of further measures calculated to unite them even more closely in this changing world. The example which Ethiopia and the Sudan have set in the conduct of relations between them could well serve as a model for other nations of the world.

We also welcome today His Holiness Abuna Kyrillos, Patriarch of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria, who has come to Addis Ababa to exchange views with leaders of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church on matters of common interest to the two communions.

During the past year, We paid a state visit to Ethiopia's traditional friend to the North, Saudi Arabia, where We renewed contacts with His Majesty King Saud. In turn Ethiopia has received as guests during the past year King Hussein of Jordan, Prince Bertil of Sweden and His Excellency Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation. With each of these personages We exchanged views on world problems. As We have so often stated, personal contacts among heads of state can contribute immeasurably to the resolutions of the perplexing problems which face the world today, and it is Our intention, during the present year, in visits to friendly states in West Africa and Latin America, to continue in the programme of direct discussions with other world leaders which We have so successfully pursued in the past.

### The African Voice

In Hamle of 1952, the Second Regular Session of the Conference of Independent African States Assembled in Addis Ababa. The energetic and imaginative approach taken by the African states represented at this highly significant Conference to the vital matters before them demonstrated anew that Africa and African leaders will speak with an increasingly important voice in the councils of the world in the coming years.

Less than two months ago, a historic session of the United Nations General Assembly convened at New York. At this meeting, seventeen states which had achieved their independence during the past year, of which sixteen are situated on the African continent,

were admitted to this foremost of international organisations. This year's General Assembly was attended by the heads of several of the most prominent world powers, attesting both to the magnitude of the tasks facing the United Nations as well as to the increasingly crucial role which this Organisation is assuming in world affairs.

Having Ourself laboured unstintingly for the reinforcement of international organisations devoted to the cause of peace and the strengthening of the principle of Collective Security, We sent a personal message to the opening session of the General Assembly in which We called upon the nations gathered there to spare no effort to reach wise and sound decisions designed to solve the problems which face the world today and to lessen the tensions which separate and divide nations. We dispatched a delegation headed by Our Deputy Prime Minister to this Assembly, and We maintained constant contact with Our delegation to the end of giving them Our personal directives. The United Nations has now taken up its agenda in its component committees, and We trust that the results of these labours will amply justify the confidence which We and other world leaders have demonstrated in the Organisation.

### Welcome Nations

We have already referred to the unprecedented increase in the number of African states which today enjoy their freedom. We rejoice with Our African brothers in the irresistible tide which has brought them to the shores of freedom, and We embrace them in the achievements of these days. In particular, We extend the hand of felicitation and of brotherhood to the people of Somalia whose independence We were among the first to espouse and support and who have now won this most precious of gifts for themselves and their posterity. We are confident that the bonds which join the peoples of Ethiopia and Somalia will, with each passing year, grow perceptibly stronger, and that any problems or difficulties which exist or which may arise between us will be approached and resolved in a spirit of mutual trust, respect and friendship.

During the last few months, the increasingly significant role being played by the African nations in man's struggle for peace and freedom has been sharply highlighted in the Congo crisis which, unfortunately, even today remains unsolved. In the Congo, We have witnessed the disheartening spectacle of an African state, only barely emergent from colonial status, being torn asunder by interests which seek only exploitation of the Congolese people for their own selfish ends and which threaten to transform this newly independent nation into a mere pawn in the cold war struggle. Ethiopia has supported the independence and the territorial unity of the Congo, and We have deplored those attitudes which have thus far obstructed the prompt solution of the difficulties which beset the Congo. In Our message to the Congo leaders, We have urged that they lay aside personal differences and ambitions and that they work together for the unity and stability of the nation which they lead. If they fail to do so, the suffering of the Congolese people will be great indeed.

It has been largely due to the decisive and resolute action of the United Nations in the Congo and to the support which this Organisation has received from the great majority of African states that a potentially explosive situation has thus far been contained and that the threat which the Congo crisis poses for the stability and security of the African continent has not burst beyond control. Ethiopia responded promptly to the United Nations' call for assistance in the Congo. Four Ethiopian battalions are serving under the United Nations banner in the Congo, and Ethiopian technicians and experts are working within the administrative framework which the United Nations has created there.

### **Gives Warning**

To those who would, in the Congo, thwart the legitimate and normal desires of the Congolese people and subvert and distort the forces at work there to their own purposes, We would say only this. Africa has struggled long and determinedly to rid itself of the yoke of oppression and exploitation. Africans now, with the end of this struggle in view, with this long desired goal in sight will not willingly see victory wrenched at the last moment from their grasp. Do not seek to perpetrate, in some different guise, the old forms of economic and political exploitation and oppression. If, in truth, the basic struggle in the world today is for the minds of men, then that nation or group of nations which seeks to impose its will upon any African people will most assuredly be vanquished in this struggle. Africa needs and desires and welcomes the help of others, both physical and moral, but Africa must nevertheless be left to develop herself, her people, her resources, as Africans determine. Leave to us, freely and without qualm, the choice between good and evil, between injustice and justice, between oppression and liberty. Our choice will be the right one, and history will judge us, and you, the better for it.

Although a small nation, Ethiopia is yet intimately concerned with the easing of the tensions which so unfortunately mar the realm of international relations today. Throughout Our lifetime, We have consistently maintained that in the principle of collective Security rested the best hope for assuring the peace of the world, and We have given unstintingly of Our support to the world organisations which have been created to assure the application of this principle. Throughout its brief existence the United Nations has justified the faith which We have placed in it, and We shall continue to be steadfast in Our support of the United Nations Organisation.

### **Disarmament**

There is, however, one area in which the United Nations has thus far been unable effectively to marshal the moral force which it represents and to take effective action towards the dissipation of a problem which poses the gravest threat to the world. It is a truism to say the present world arms races threatens not only the most destructive warfare which the world has seen, but, indeed, the very existence of man and the conditions of his life on this planet. The failure of the Great Powers to reach an effective agreement on disarmament cannot be excused or justified on the ground that the problem

is a difficult or a complex one. No nation, no matter how large or powerful, has the moral right today to insist that it can follow the policy of unlimited nuclear armament when such a policy implies consequences far beyond its power to control. Those Powers which today possess the capacity to wage nuclear warfare cannot refuse to take all reasonable measures to lessen the threat of world conflict.

Unfortunately, We today see the nations of the world, both great and small invoking their rights as sovereign states, following a course which, unless arrested, must lead irrevocably to disaster. The Great Powers stubbornly adhere to an armaments policy which threatens the most dire results for all, and the smaller states, themselves aspiring to greatness but fearful of incurring the wrath of those upon whom they today count for assistance, acquiesce silently. The path can lead only to chaos and destruction. If man is to survive on this planet, the arms race which today clutches mankind in its unreasoning and inexorable grip must be halted, and it is to the United Nations that all nations, both large and small, must look as the medium to achieve this result. It is the task, rather, the duty, of the smaller nations of the world to exert their utmost efforts to ensure that all possible measures are taken to this end. We are pleased to observe that the smaller countries are today playing a more aggressive and prominent role in the quest for an acceptable disarmament formula, and Ethiopia pledges her complete support to this endeavour. God, the Supreme Arbitrator, will judge us harshly if we fail.

### **Racial Issue**

Ethiopians have an equally compelling interest in the problems of racial discrimination. Throughout Our lifetime, We have espoused the principles of the equality of man and of the equal right of all men to enjoy the privileges of political and economic freedom without regard to racial origin, creed or colour. No African can rest content with the achievements of the past or the prospects of the future unless and until the horrible fact of racial discrimination, which degrades mankind in general, has been wiped from the face of this Globe.

In the modern world, no nation can remain complacent in the face of the challenge of the future nor rest quiescent in self-satisfied contemplation of the achievements of the past. Change is the first law of nature, and change is, in the modern world, the order of the day. Any nation which does not progress, whose development remains static, falls behind. We have dedicated and devoted Our lifetime to the cause of the enlightened advancement of Our people whom We were called upon to lead thirty years ago by the Grace of Almighty God. You, Members of Parliament, no less than We, must dedicate yourselves to this same cause. The time which you have spent in this Parliament during the last three years and the hours which you will spend here during the coming year may, in retrospect, prove to have been the most precious of your life. See that you use them wisely and well.

May Almighty God, Our constant support and solace, bless Our labours for the advancement of Our people and crown Our efforts with success.

# Ethiopia's Rôle in Emergent Africa

An address by LIJ ENDALKATCHEW MAKONNEN M.A. (Oxon)

Ambassador of Ethiopia at the Court of St. James delivered to the University of Manchester on November 4, 1960.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should like first of all to express my sincere thanks to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester for this kind invitation and for his presence at our meeting today. I need hardly add that his presence gives our meeting great importance, and symbolizes the deep interest of the University of Manchester in African affairs.

I should also like to thank my friend, Professor Ullendorff; a friend of my country, and a distinguished authority on Ethiopian studies, for the part he has played in organizing this meeting.

It seems to me very appropriate that an address on Ethiopia and her role in Africa today should be given in this historic city of Manchester and at its famous University.

The name of Manchester, like those of Gladstone, Bright, Wilberforce, Florence Nightingale and of other great Britons like them is for ever linked with the ideal of British liberalism and humanitarianism, and surely the liberal tradition is a contribution to the life of humanity of which Britain can justly be proud.

Manchester has not only fostered this tradition but has indeed been the guardian of liberalism throughout the past ages. It is for this reason that the world regards its name with a deep sense of respect and admiration, for it is the heart of a nation that has successfully reconciled tradition with democracy.

Only the other day the name of Manchester was echoed once again throughout Ethiopia and the world; this time in connection with the passing away of a great offspring of this city, namely, the memorable and remarkable Sylvia Pankhurst.

I was preparing my notes for my speech today when the sad news of her death reached me and I think it is just and proper that I should recall the thoughts that came to my mind at that moment; thoughts which I later translated into a tribute to her memory, and by way of expressing once again in this place of her birth the love and admiration of my countrymen, I venture to quote the following passage from the same tribute :

"In her humanitarianism and international outlook Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was a genuine example of the best in her countrymen in that neither her voice nor her efforts were ever spared whenever and wherever the cause of justice was at stake.

"In the dark days of fascist power, when even the most powerful were afraid of annoying Mussolini and Hitler and when the Emperor stood alone in His splendid dignity, Miss Pankhurst rallied her countrymen to the support of the just cause of Ethiopia, and shared with the Emperor and His People the conviction that justice wins in the end.

"Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was one of those rare individuals who are so absorbed in the struggle for righteous causes that they are frequently misunderstood and misjudged. Such misunderstanding and misjudgment was often based on the failure of her critics to grasp her foresight and to apprehend the expanse of her vision.

"Whether the cause was that of women in her own land or that of the freedom of peoples far beyond, Miss Pankhurst put her whole self into the fight without any reserve or compromise."

This worthy and sincere tribute paid to that remarkable woman could have just as well been said of so many men and women in this as in other countries, who from time immemorial have done such a great deal and have sacrificed so very much for the noble causes of humanity.

Mankind would not have risen to such heights of social, political and cultural progress had not such people made great sacrifices in order that we and future generations may enjoy the blessings of a fuller and richer life.

## The Christo-Liberal Spirit

In emphasizing the historical setting and background of our gathering today, I have wanted to underline the deep significance and relevance of the Christian spirit and of liberalism in the emergence of Africa from a prolonged state of sleepiness to becoming a live and powerful factor in the international life of our time.

I believe that just as the timely advent of the Christo-liberal spirit saved this country from the dangerous consequences as well as from the social and political conflicts and disruption of the industrial revolution even so in Africa today the influence and impact of that same spirit of tolerance, understanding and enlightenment can help to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer from dependence to independence and back again to that mutually fruitful inter-dependence based on common benefit and respect for each others rights.

Britain has reason to be proud of her achievement in being able to have transformed a great part of her former Empire into a Commonwealth of independent nations, and in doing so has been true to her deep-rooted traditions. The peaceful and timely transfer of responsibility in former British territories has in turn created confidence, not least in those who only yesterday were subject peoples. This confidence and the prestige that Britain enjoys in the world today is mainly due to her understanding and her wisdom in appreciating human aspirations and in her recognition of the fact that "the wind of change" can be guided but that any attempt to resist or stifle its inevitable course would only lead to perpetual conflict amongst peoples.

This troubled world of ours can derive much wisdom and encouragement from such political developments as the recent peaceful transfer of power in Nigeria as well as in the former French territories in Africa, where France has, under the wise leadership of General de Gaulle, re-dedicated herself to the universal ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity—ideals of which France herself has been the foremost champion. Let us only hope that the same wisdom and foresight will prevail in the solution of the terrible conflict in Algeria.

If the happenings in the Congo have cast dark clouds over the horizon of Euro-African co-operation, the peaceful transfer of power in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa has dissipated such dark clouds, helping to light the way towards peaceful understanding and fruitful co-operation.

### **The African Background**

The purpose of my talk is to speak to you about Ethiopia and her role in Africa. It was, I think, necessary that the subject matter for this talk should have been conceived in such a manner as to give prominence to Africa, because it is impossible to single out any independent African state and least of all Ethiopia from the structure of present-day Africa.

Every independent African state, indeed every single African is deeply involved in the problems of his Continent and no understanding of African nationalism nor of the African personality is possible without a clear understanding of the African background today.

Before going on to speak to you, therefore, about the role of Ethiopia in Africa today, I feel that it is important that I should give a broad survey of the African background with particular emphasis on some of the problems that are crucial in the relations between Africa and the rest of the world.

The problems of Africa are obviously of primary concern to Ethiopia and since these problems have a profound influence on Ethiopia's international policy, I have devoted a major part of my discourse to some of these outstanding problems with a view to presenting them from an Ethiopian angle.

### **The Need To Understand African Aspirations**

The first and foremost problem that stands on the way to mutual trust and co-operation is to be found in the need for proper understanding of African aspirations.

When I address myself to the need to understand African aspirations, I am not unaware of the considerable advance that has been made in this respect. I have already spoken of Britain's and France's enlightened policies in Africa and there is no denying the fact that we find encouraging signs of progress which are all for the good.

But in spite of this happier side of things there is still a great deal that needs to be done if the spirit of the new Africa is to be properly understood and rightly recognized.

African nationalism is often presented as something extraordinary and sinister, and people often tend to

forget that when the African asks for freedom and justice he is not demanding anything strange and extraordinary, but is merely re-asserting these rights, not only by virtue of their universal validity but also by reason of the fact that human freedom and justice are self-evident principles of Christianity and Democracy and indeed the very pillars of the Western way of life.

African nationalism seeks nothing more than to secure for African peoples everywhere the right to be free and respected members of the human family. This includes the right of equality of opportunity, the right of self-government, the right to self-assertion and the opportunity to develop the personality and potential of the individual countries and of the Continent as a whole.

### **The Strength of African Nationalism**

African nationalism is a powerful force which cuts across tribal and provincial barriers. It appeals to the sense of strength through unity and to the deep desire for advancement through progress. It is the creed of every educated African, and the source of hope and inspiration to all those in the different countries of Africa who are dedicated to the cause of independence and integrity.

The factor of African nationalism is one which is often blurred and overshadowed by the expedience and magnitude of current affairs, but it is the most significant factor in any African situation today.

Even in a confused and complicated case like that of the Congo, one could not help noticing that in the midst of the confusion and chaos of an extraordinary situation, with internal and external factors much at play, there is seen a torch that could not be extinguished and one that shall continue to burn ever bright, namely the torch of National Unity.

The merits and demerits of individual Congolese politicians may be debated endlessly and people may say that so and so is a rash up-start, or a demagogue, or what you will, but no one can deny the fact that he who stands for the basic principles of African nationalism—for independence, integrity and progress, is the one that has the greatest appeal to the Africa of today.

It would, I feel, be unfair and untrue to dismiss African nationalists as mere lunatics and to say that their power and influence is due to some supernatural magic. To maintain such a position is to misunderstand the African situation of today.

No one, not even those who are their opponents, can deny the fact that the success and attraction of certain national leaders in the Congo today is to be found in their devotion to ideals higher than that of tribe, the province or of any other consideration of narrow loyalties, and therein lies the real reason for both their appeal at home as well as for the backing their cause has enjoyed throughout the Pan-African World.

There can be no end to the present troubles in the Congo unless, and until, all nations stand genuinely behind the United Nations, in backing the right Congolese horse running for the right Congolese cause.

## **The Need To Understand The Pan-African Sentiment**

I have spoken of the need to understand the spirit of African nationalism. There is equally vital need to understand and recognize the Pan-African sentiment, and the collective consciousness of solidarity between African peoples.

Pan-Africanism has, like African Nationalism, often been misunderstood and misrepresented. It has often been regarded as an anti-colonial movement or even as a Communist-inspired conspiracy.

But such misguided thinking does neither do justice to the cause of Pan-Africanism nor does it help in the matter of mutual understanding between Africa and the Western World.

African solidarity and co-operation should not be misunderstood in this way but should rather be regarded as a natural outcome of the awakening of Africa. It is a sentiment which, if properly understood and rightly recognized, can become a factor of lasting advantage to the relations of Africa with the rest of the World.

Again the disposition towards neutrality and the desire for non-alignment on the part of many African countries has been the subject for criticism in certain parts of the Western World. Such an attitude only helps to antagonize the non-aligned powers and makes them feel rather resentful and suspicious of the Western World.

There is no denying the fact that there is a general feeling in favour of non-alignment in many parts of both Africa and Asia.

### **Non-Alignment Not Sitting On the Fence**

But this desire for non-alignment should not be misunderstood either as an anti-Western movement or as a desire to sit on the fence. The policy of non-alignment is one which has certain positive objectives of working for peaceful settlement of disputes and the avoidance of a global conflict between the great Powers.

A greater part of the nations of Asia and Africa feel that they can play a more effective role in bringing a world settlement between the two power blocks if they are not directly involved in military alliances one way or the other. If everybody is to join the fight who is to stop the fighting? You must admit that this makes common sense.

And so these so-called neutral countries are united in their effort to influence events in the direction of that peace, which is the most vital condition for the progress and welfare of their peoples.

### **Positive Role Of African Solidarity**

But African solidarity has more to fit than the mere effort to reconcile the Power blocks. It has the positive duty to see that the reconciliation is just and honourable and that a settlement is not at anybody's expense.

Africa is fed up with the role of serving as a battle-ground for power-politics, and with the past experience of being regarded as an article of exchange in the negotiation of the big powers. The Summit Conferences of our time must not be allowed to become another

Congress of Berlin, and in order for this not to happen, the free Nations of Africa and Asia must bring their collective power to bear upon the world affairs and must play their vital role in the realization of an international atmosphere in which science can become the salvation of man and not the means of self-destruction.

This has been the great purpose of the Conferences of Bandung, of Accra and of Addis Ababa, and it is this same purpose that accounts for Afro-Asian solidarity in the United Nations today.

### **The New Face Of United Nations**

Whatever we may say about this year's meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations we have to admit that it has been most significant from the African point of view in that not only were 16 new independent African States admitted to Membership, but also because the Afro-Asian group has assumed a great importance in international affairs, thus giving the nations of Africa and Asia greater opportunities for a more positive role in shaping the destiny of this trouble-ridden world.

I believe that the timely recognition of the new face of the United Nations, and the giving to the nations of Africa and Asia a more active role in that organization can have a great and salutary effect on the universal character of the United Nations.

It would indeed be a great pity if this essential and natural development in the life of the United Nations Organization was to be stalemated by the conflicts of the cold war with each power bloc wanting to counteract the initiative of the other. As the Ethiopian Deputy Prime Minister has rightly pointed out in his address to the United Nations General Assembly the matter is not one of power politics, but one of making the United Nations Organization as representative and as universal as possible, so that it can speak with full authority in the name of humanity and can represent the entire conscience of mankind.

### **The Great Challenge Of Racial Discrimination**

Let me now turn to yet another of the obstacles that in my opinion bars the way to genuine and fruitful co-operation between Africa and the Western World and which is in a sense consequential to the obstacles that I have discussed earlier. I am of course referring to the question of human rights as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

It is obvious that there cannot be any real mutual trust and therefore no genuine co-operation between Africa and the Western World unless and until there is full recognition and respect for the human rights of the African and for the dignity of his person.

This matter constitutes the greatest challenge that the United Nations faces today and it is a challenge that cannot be put aside any more. It is a test which the United Nations has to pass, if its Charter is to have any meaning at all.

Some years back the question of human rights was one on which delegates could afford to make platitudinous speeches at the United Nations, speeches which were often very cleverly conceived to side-track the

challenge and the real issue. But as I have pointed out earlier on, the United Nations has undergone a tremendous transformation. You have only to look at the United Nations today to realize how urgent have become the problems that concern Africa and the Afro-Asian world, and no responsible leadership either East or West can afford to ignore such vital and basic issues.

It would moreover be no exaggeration to say that no lasting and genuine understanding and co-operation, nor any partnership with the Western World can be possible, unless and until the evil trespass on human rights constituted by the practice of racial discrimination can be forever rooted out of existence.

If the question of racial discrimination is a great test for the United Nations, it is also a great challenge to the Western World.

### **The Two Sides of Western Civilization**

You tell the African that the Western civilization represents the highest and the noblest human and spiritual attainment. You preach to him the principles of justice, freedom and love as being the basis of democracy and of the Western way of life.

But on closer look the African finds that Western civilization has two sides to it. There are the ideals and the creative achievements of Western civilization which are great and admirable, but there are also the excesses and distinctive aspects of Western civilization which cannot fail to alarm and frighten the African and which make him lose confidence in the Western World.

People often accuse African nationalists of being too suspicious of the Western World and of lacking confidence in democracy and in the Western way of life.

But if such people are to be honest and fair in their judgment of African attitude they must admit that there is genuine cause for such fear and suspicion.

After all, a decade has hardly passed since the cruel barbarism and racialism of Hitler and Mussolini was born in the very cradle of Western civilization and in the heart of Western Europe, and even today a similar brand of that same repugnant doctrine is being openly and publicly practiced notably in the Union of South Africa.

Is it at all surprising that Africans should be suspicious, bitter and resentful, when they see these injustices being committed in the name of Western Civilization?

The ability of the Western World to win the confidence of the African today must surely depend on the extent to which the Western World can stamp out this evil of racial discrimination and can thus ensure that the universal principles of equality among all men is translated into effective reality. This is the decisive challenge that faces the Western World in Africa today and the future of Euro-African relations hangs on the response to that challenge.

### **The Economic Challenge**

Yet another problem that needs very careful consideration in as much as it affects the future relations between Africa and the rest of the world, is the urgent

problem of effective economic co-operation and technical assistance.

Quite often, the expediency of political issues takes away too much of the light that should fall on these basic and vital economic problems the solution of which is an essential condition for any lasting understanding and co-operation between peoples of Africa and those of the rest of the world.

I do not know whether any of you came across the very brilliant analysis of the economic problems of the under-developed countries which was contained in the lecture that Professor Arthur Lewis gave to the recent Conference on Technical Assistance held in Robot, Israel. To my mind, this was a most searching study of the problems of under-developed countries and one that was as realistic as I have ever come across in studies of this kind.

### **Urgency Of Economic Progress**

The important point as regards the economic development of the under-developed regions in Africa, or for that matter elsewhere in the world, is to realise the urgency of the problem.

For the peoples of Africa, their economic progress and development of their natural resources are a matter of life and death. They consider themselves in a state of war against poverty, disease, ignorance, malnutrition, and all the other miseries that result from the lack of economic progress and the under-development of the natural resources. It becomes obvious from the urgency and the magnitude of the task in hand that it would be inadequate to leave things to the intervention of natural factors, to the inter-play of supply and demand and to the inclination and speculation of private investors either at home or abroad. The urgency of the problem, the burning desire of the people and the need for accelerated progress cannot allow for the working of such time-consuming experiments.

The arm-chair economist looking at African problems from his distant and cosy University surroundings may preach the merit and blessings of laissez-faire, but this is not the way for Africa, for in Africa the economic struggle is nothing that can be compared to the effort of peace-time economic life, but it is a live struggle for survival like that of the Battle of Britain.

### **Economic Progress and Capital Investment**

This is how African Nationalism sees economic progress in Africa, and the Western World must learn to see it in the same way if it is to realise the importance and urgency of its role in this field.

I quite realise that the economic system of the Western World with its intricate capitalistic set-up and with strict rules governing risk and guarantee and profit loss may not be suitable for the kind of major mobilization in capital investment that is needed in Africa and in the under-developed countries at large. But in Africa the economic struggle is a fully fledged war effort and mobilization is an inevitable part of war. The Western economic system must, therefore learn to mobilize and to be ready to meet the demands of an ever changing African and world situation.

## The Mutual Advantages of Economic Co-operation

### The Emperor's Plan

One thing needs to be stated categorically and that is that the natural resources of these countries in Africa are such that there is a great reward to be gained all round.

A planned economy, given the right kind of co-operation and technical assistance can be self-rewarding to those who co-operate in the venture.

There is much that can be said in favour of those who advocated a kind of Marshall Plan in Africa, in which the United Nations could play the role of the co-ordinator and guarantor, and which should aim at helping the countries of Africa to develop their natural resources in the way of co-operation, participation and technical assistance on the part of those countries that are in a more advanced state of scientific and economic progress.

His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I has spoken of a similar economic plan in his address to the Conference of Independent African States. Such a plan, if carried out in the spirit of mutual respect and benefit, could make our inter-dependence more effective and mutually fruitful.

So far as the Western World is concerned the economic challenge lies in the finding of the best and most effective ways and means whereby mutual benefits can be derived, of bringing into concert the capital wealth and technological know-how of the Western World with the vast natural wealth and potential of the African Continent.

This is the great economic challenge that faces the Western world today, and it is a challenge that demands a new and vigorous approach.

If the Western World desires to maintain its traditional position in the economic life of the emergent countries of Africa, it must be prepared to provide an effective answer to the pressing demands of economic and social progress by devising a system of co-operation and technical assistance which can help the new nations to develop their natural resources and raise the standard of living of their peoples.

### Learning And Unlearning

I have mentioned what I consider to be the outstanding problems of Africa of today. I have tried to present them to you as sincerely and as frankly as I can.

I would be the last person to pretend that these problems are easy.

No human problem is easy that is worth solving.

The problems of Africa can have satisfactory solutions provided that there is good will on all sides. The process may be a painful one involving a good deal of learning and unlearning.

The Western World must learn to change its old and out-moded attitude towards the African and must respect his right, understand his aspiration and must give him genuine and effective assistance, avoiding any policy or action that recalls the unhappy past, while the African must for his part be forgiving and forward looking, avoiding the past to influence the future.

### A New Vision

A new outlook, a new vision, and a new future—that is the only hope for lasting understanding and co-operation between Africa and the Western World.

## The Impact Of Africa

I am afraid that the African part of my discourse has led me to cover greater ground than I had anticipated.

But in a sense this is symbolic of the importance that Africa has come to assume in the affairs of every one of our countries.

Even here in Britain the impact of the new Africa on the daily life of people is tremendous. No day passes by without some news on Africa appearing in the papers or on television.

If the impact here in Britain is that great, how much greater must it be in a country like mine which is the oldest independent African state and throughout the centuries the lonely bearer of the banner of African freedom and pride.

### Invincible Ethiopia

An independence and nationhood that has outlived the ancient civilizations of the Nile and of the Euphrates and has withstood the conquests of Alexander the Great as well as the expanding dominance of the Roman Empire; a country that has maintained its national identity despite the influx and impact of outside forces and one that has secured its independence and integrity in the face of the 19th century colonial expansion, by inflicting a decisive victory over the ambitions of a Colonial power; a people that had the courage and determination to defy all alone the inflated pretensions of Mussolini, cannot but hold a special place in the proud heart of new Africa.

For, if there is any country in Africa of whom it can be said that never did so many owe so much to so few, that country is Ethiopia.

Whether it be under the bright clouds of the victory of Adowa or under the dark clouds of fascist invasion of 1935, Ethiopia stood—ever invincible, ever proud, ever defiant.

This is the picture of Ethiopia that looms large in the mind of Africa and it is this same prestige and recognition that gives to Ethiopia a special place in the African World of today.

### Ethiopia's Continuous Fight

But the struggle and sacrifice of Ethiopia in the cause of African freedom does not limit itself to past history. It has been just as outstanding in the post-war period.

The recent Conference of Independent African States called at Addis Ababa by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia was but a culmination in the series of developments to which Ethiopia has made major contributions.

### Bandung—Accra—Addis Ababa

At Bandung, where Afro-Asian solidarity first came into prominence, at Accra where the African personality was first conceived; and recently at Addis Ababa, where the new Africa discovered its true being, Ethiopia was there with all her experience and wisdom born out of a maturity and self-confidence derived from a long and hazardous independent life; but also with a deep sense of responsibility and profound humility to

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# Sylvia Pankhurst Her Rôle as a Suffragette

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst died at her home on the outskirts of Addis Ababa on Tuesday, 27 September, 1960, at 3.30 p.m., from coronary thrombosis. Her funeral took place in the afternoon of the following day. The procession passed through the compound of Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital, where doctors and nurses in uniform lined the way, to the Cathedral of Queddist Sellassie (Holy Trinity), where the memorial service was held, in the presence of H.I.M. the Emperor Haile Sellassie, H.I.H. the Crown Prince, H.I.H. Princess Tenagne Work, H.I.H. Prince Sahle Sellassie, and other members of the Imperial Family; ministers, members of parliament, military officers, diplomats, doctors of the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital and other hospitals, members of the British Community, and a large number of friends attended, whilst His Holiness Abuna Basilius and His Holiness Abuna Theophulos, as well as other bishops, officiated. Sylvia not being one of the Christian names known to the Ethiopian Church, she was given the name WALATA KRISTOS, or daughter of Christ.

The mourners then accompanied Miss Pankhurst to her final resting place in the courtyard of the cathedral, opposite one of the towers flanking the main entrance. Thus, through the benevolence of His Imperial Majesty and the Ethiopian Church, she was buried with the patriots of the Resistance Struggle, whose cenotaph is nearby. H.E. Ras Andargatchew Massai, Minister of the Interior, delivered the funeral tribute, and His Imperial Majesty laid the first of the many wreaths which covered her grave. In England a Memorial Meeting was organised at the Caxton Hall, for January 19th, 1961.

The motives and attitude of mind which first brought

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contribute her share to the great task of building a free, prosperous and peaceful Africa.

## Ethiopia's Rule In The Congo. The Emperor's Timely Advice

These characteristics of Ethiopia's policy have been demonstrated in the manner of Ethiopia's participation in the work of the United Nations in the Congo, and in the wise and peaceful role that the Emperor has played, in sparing no effort to reconcile the leaders of the Congo and to help to restore the essential conditions of peace and order under which the independence and integrity of the Congo can be maintained.

It would be no exaggeration to say that had the Emperor's timely advice been heard, the Congo would by now enjoy the peace and quietness that it lacks so much today.

## The Growing Significance Of Ethiopia

Thus not only in Africa, but in the United Nations and in the world at large, Ethiopia occupies a very significant place and is destined to play an important role in the international relations of our time.

But Ethiopia realizes that the effectiveness of her international role and influence very much depends on her own spiritual and material strength.

her to the public notice as a suffragette are by no means mysterious, and are clearly apparent in her own writings. "I was a child," she notes, "of the late nineteenth century, an inheritor of the struggle for political democracy, not fully accomplished then even for men, whilst women were still outside the political system, profiting from the gains of democracy only adventitiously. The women's movement was working, albeit passively, for liberation from old disabilities. The Labour movement for the economic betterment of the masses was striving towards its birth. The internationalism, in the sense that the world is every man's country, to be valued and respected equally with his birthplace, was gaining ground."

She was greatly influenced as a child by her father, Richard Marsden Pankhurst, who, she recalls, was "earnestly immersed in all the advanced movements of his time" and kept his family "on the high plane. We surveyed through his eyes the great movements of liberation and enlightenment." Two of his frequent exhortations which remained in her mind until her death were that "Life is nothing without enthusiasms" and that "If you do not work for others you will not have been worth the upbringing."

Richard Pankhurst, who was a member of the first Manchester committee for Women's Suffrage and drafted the first Women's Suffrage Bill in 1869, continued to urge enfranchisement of women until his death in 1897. Eight years later, in 1905, his widow, Emmeline Pankhurst, travelled down to London from Manchester to lobby the House of Commons. It seemed an auspicious

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It is for this reason that the Emperor and his Government have worked hard to consolidate Ethiopia's achievements in the political, economic and social fields.

The vast programme for Education and for Public Health and the plans for development of Ethiopia's immense natural resources must be seen as part of the nation-wide effort to make Ethiopia a strong, healthy and prosperous member of the family of Nations.

## A Proud Past—A Great Future

In this vital task Ethiopia has always welcomed the assistance and co-operation of all nations and peoples, provided that such co-operation is based on mutual respect and common benefit.

The atmosphere of order and stability that has characterized the life of Ethiopia has led peoples of many nations to come and contribute to the great and challenging task of Ethiopia's progress, and it is my fervent hope that this will not only continue but that it will grow and gain strength, thus helping us to build an Ethiopia proud of her past but equally worthy of her great future—a future in which she is destined to play a vital role in Emergent Africa.

moment, for the winds of change were blowing in England, the Conservative Government of that time being clearly in the process of breaking up. Sylvia, then an art student of 23, began holding meetings all over Lancashire. On December 4 the Prime Minister, A. J. Balfour, resigned, and the Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, formed a government and dissolved Parliament.

In the general election which followed, the Pankhursts insisted on raising the suffragette issue. Winston Churchill, the candidate for Manchester, had no intention of committing himself. "I was at Churchill's first meeting in a schoolroom in Cheetham Hill," Sylvia recalls. "There was a running fire of questions of all sorts. Churchill answered them as they came. I put mine as soon as he gave me an appropriate cue. He attempted to ignore me, but my brother and some I.L.P. man at the back of the room led the audience in demanding that I should be answered. Such a clamour was raised that Churchill could not proceed. As soon as I stood up again there was complete silence, but when my question was put and again ignored the din began once more. This continued for some time. To end the deadlock the chairman asked me to put my question from the platform. I did so, and turned to go, but Churchill seized me roughly by the arm and pushed me into a chair at the back of the platform, saying: 'No, you must wait here till you have heard what I have to say.' Then, turning to the audience, he protested that I was 'bringing disgrace upon an honoured name' by interrupting him, and added: 'Nothing would induce me to vote for giving women the franchise; I am not going to be henpecked into a question of such importance.'

"I would have gone then," she adds, "but in a scuffle, during which all the men on the platform stood up to hide what was happening from the audience, I was pushed into a side room."

Assisted by members of the public to escape through a window, she later gave the news to the press. It appeared with big headlines next day, producing innumerable jokes at the candidate's expense, the more so as Sylvia was, of course, present at Churchill's next meeting, repeating her question.

Later that year, 1906, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and other advocates of women's suffrage, attempted to make speeches in the Lobby of the House of Commons, protesting against the Government's indifference to their cause. They were thrown out and arrested. Sylvia went to the trial, made a speech on the steps of the Court and was immediately dragged inside and committed to 14 days' imprisonment. Of this, her first imprisonment she writes:

"In the prison garb, harsh chocolate-brown serge, roughly daubed with the 'broad arrow' in splashes of white paint, with a white bonnet stamped in black with the same sign, a blue check apron, coarse black stockings with red rings, and shoes heavy as those of a navvy, I plodded through stone corridors, carrying my bedding. I was locked in a cell some seven feet by five, with a little barred window high up near the ceiling. In the centre of the iron door was a spy-hole, through which an eye sometimes peered at me. There was a plank reared up against the wall which I had to put down on



Sylvia's father, Richard Marsden Pankhurst

the floor for my bed, a mattress and pillow stuffed with some shrubby sort of plant, and so hard that one's weight made no depression thereon. The coverings were thin and narrow. I trembled with cold and chafed my frozen limbs in vain to restore the circulation. The place was airless, as well as chill; it lacked direct communication at any time with the outer air, and had a ventilating system appallingly inefficient. The night was never silent; heavy feet and jangling keys passed and repassed; occasionally a cry sounded, and sometimes loud screaming continued for many hours.

"Long before daybreak great noises arose; ringing of bells, trampling of feet. The light went on. One washed in a quart of water, dressed hurriedly, went out to empty one's slops at the word of command, rolled up the bedding, cleaned the tin utensils with soap and brick-dust, washed the floor, scrubbed the bed and stool, and the little shelf called the table. The food was six ounces of bread and a pint of oatmeal gruel, night and morning, and at midday six ounces of bread and a pint of oatmeal porridge, or instead of the porridge, potatoes, or a small stiff piece of unsweetened suet—'pudding,' it was called. I had the Bible to read, but the small print and dim light soon tired the eyes."

Undaunted by such trials she soon got drawing materials, and was contented all day making illustrations of prison life, for, as she says, "I wanted to get reform

there also, and in fact, through our imprisonment, movements were started and stimulated which achieved something in that direction, though much is yet to do."

Sylvia received a second term of imprisonment in the following year, this time for three weeks. Not long afterwards she went on a lecture tour of the United States, in the course of which she addressed a joint convention of the Iowa Senate and House of Representatives, the Michigan Legislature and the Judiciary Committees of Illinois and New York State. She travelled East through Canada to St. John's, New Brunswick, West to California, South to Tennessee, speaking in all the principal cities. Everywhere there were crowded halls and tremendous enthusiasm. The only opposition she encountered was when she announced her willingness to address the Negro University in Tennessee. "I was astonished," she recalls, "to find every newspaper protesting against my action." Though of course critical of the position of the Negro she notes: "I thought that some day I might become an American citizen."

On returning from the States she visited her sister Christabel who had taken refuge in Paris to avoid arrest and was committed to a policy of violence and arson. Sylvia, as she observes in her memoirs, "regarded this new policy with grief and regret, believing it wholly mistaken and unnecessary, deeply deplored the life of furtive destruction it would impose upon the participants and the harsh punishment it was preparing for them; for these unknown girls there would be no international telegrams; the mead of public sympathy would be attenuated. What the movement required, that it might reap what had been sown, was, in my opinion, a broader and more confident appeal to the people, and the effort, which assuredly would be crowned with success, to make the movement a genuine mass movement."

These views failed to win the support of her mother or sister, Christabel, and the arson continued. Sylvia, on the other hand, moved to the East End of London, the poorest quarter of the city, where alone a mass movement could be organised. This action, as the historian George Dangerfield remarks in his fascinating study, *The Strange Death of Liberal England*, was of immense significance. Though the women's cause had originally been advocated mainly by the Radicals, the Chartist and other popular movements, suffragette activity was becoming increasingly based on the wealthy classes with the result that suffragette theoretists only expressed a demand for votes for property-owning women. Sylvia, who never forgot that her father had stood as an Independent Labour Party candidate—his election manifesto hung in her bedroom in Addis Ababa—rejected this tendency, and pointed out that Keir Hardie, the founder of that party, was the strongest advocate of votes for women in Parliament. She now established her headquarters in a disused baker's shop in Bow Road with its stench of soap-works and tanneries; she threw herself with enthusiasm into the task of ameliorating the conditions of the under-privileged. She was soon, as Dangerfield says, the friend of "all sorts of women in sweated and obscure trades—rope-makers, waste rubber cleaners, biscuit packers, chicken pluckers, women who made wooden seeds for raspberry jam, all the uninspiring varieties of a hopeless slum!"

Though greatly absorbed in individual cases of hard-

ship and interested in the under-privileged as a class, her suffragette militancy did not abate. When on January 17, 1913, the speaker in the House of Commons ruled that if the House passed a women's suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill before it, the Bill could not be proceeded with, but must be re-introduced as a new amendment she was very indignant. Hurrying to the Parliament building she picked up some lumps of cement which she put in her pocket. While waiting in the lobby ostensibly to see Keir Hardie she considered what object should be her aim—"not," she says, "a stained glass window, nor a statue, not the work of some artist's loving toil. My eye caught a recently hung picture; it looked feebly unattractive; its subject made no impression." Reflecting that in any case only the great expanse of glass covering would suffer, she hurled one of the lumps she had in her pocket. It made a tremendous noise, but glanced off the glass, leaving no scratch. Policemen rushed on her from all sides and dragged her to a small police room. "I waited," she tells, "wondering, without apprehension what would happen next. When the House rose shortly afterwards, Keir Hardie came, smiling with delighted approval, to tell me I was free. He was glad that I had acted so promptly, he said, and wished that every woman had done the same. Curiously I had thrown my stone at the newly-placed picture of Speaker Finch attempting to adjourn the House in obedience to a message from the King, and



Sylvia's mother, Emmeline Pankhurst, being arrested as a Suffragette

being held in the Chair by Members, in order that Sir John Elliott's resolution against tonnage and poundage might be proceeded with, on March 2, 1629, the period of the Great Rebellion. Chance had guided my aim very aptly. Mr. Speaker had decided to take no action against me. Keir Hardie escorted me through the House, proudly meeting the out-streaming Members, as though I was an honoured guest."

A few days later she took part in a suffragette march on the House of Commons in which another of the leaders, Mrs. Drummond, was very roughly treated by the police and flung twice to the ground. She called on the Superintendent, Wells, either to arrest her quietly or let her proceed in peace. They were both eventually arrested, but with great brutality. "I was most anxious and indignant on her behalf," Sylvia writes. "It was time to be done with all this police brutality, I thought; it had gone on too long. When arrested and dragged into the charge room, spurred by an intolerable sense of outrage and disgust, I swept the ink pot from the recording desk, in an impulsive gesture, and struck with my open hand, dripping with ink, the face of Superintendent Wells—not to hurt him, but to mark him with the sign of contempt. 'THE BLACK HAND!' glared the newspaper placards."

When the case came up in Court, Wells was forced to admit that "He was exceeding his orders and his

duty," Sylvia being fined a mere 40 shillings.

On February 14, Sylvia led a suffragette demonstration in Bow, at the end of which she was arrested for smashing the windows of a police station. She and a colleague, Zelie Emerson, were both sentenced to six week's imprisonment, and began a hunger and thirst strike in prison but were released on the following day, as her mother had paid the fine money without consulting her.

The respite, however, was short, for two days later she held another great demonstration in Bow after which she smashed the windows of an undertaker's shop. She was thereupon sentenced with two other suffragettes to two months' hard labour. Such was the beginning of the mass movement for votes for women in East London. A tremendous flame of enthusiasm burst forth; great meetings were held, and during her imprisonment long processions marched eight times the six-mile journey to Holloway Gaol, her place of detention.

The prisoners meanwhile decided to begin a hunger and thirst strike. Dainty food never normally served in prison, such as chicken, Brand's essence and fruit, were placed in her cell; these she at once placed under the table fearing lest she might go for them in her sleep—only to discover the absurdity of the idea for hunger soon prevented her from sleeping.

On the third day, two doctors sounded her heart and felt her pulse; they told her they had no alternative but



Sylvia, suffering from the privations of hunger, thirst and sleep strike, is carried on a stretcher to address a public meeting in defiance of the British Government which refused to grant Votes for Women. Note poster announcing the meeting

to feed her by force. They then withdrew. "I was thrown into a state of great agitation," she recalls, "heart palpitating with fear, noises in my ears, hot and cold shivers down my spine. I paced the cell, crouched against the wall, knelt by the bed, paced again, longing for some means of escape, resolving, impotently, to fight to prevent the outrage—knowing not what to do. I gathered together in the clothes-basket the prison mug and plate, my out-door shoes—everything the cell contained which might be used as a missile, and placing the basket on the table beside me, stood with my back to the wall, waiting to hurl these things at the doctors as soon as they should appear. Presently, I heard footsteps approaching, collecting outside my cell. I was strangled with fear, cold and stunned, yet alert to every sound. The door opened—not the doctors, but a crowd of wardresses filled the doorway. I could not use my missiles upon them; poor tools! Yet nervously the hand that lay on the basket clutched a shoe and it fell amongst them as they closed with me. I struggled, but was overcome. There were six of them, all much bigger

and stronger than I. They flung me on my back on the bed, and held me down firmly by shoulders and wrists, hips, knees and ankles. Then the doctors came stealing in. Someone seized me by the head and thrust a sheet under my chin. My eyes were shut. I set my teeth and tightened my lips over them with all my strength. A man's hands were trying to force open my mouth; my breath was coming so fast that I felt as though I should suffocate. His fingers were striving to pull my lips apart—getting inside. I felt them and a steel instrument pressing round my gums, feeling for gaps in the teeth. I was trying to jerk my head away, trying to wrench it free. Two of them were holding it, two of them dragging at my mouth. I was panting and heaving, my breath quicker and quicker, coming now with a loud scream which was growing louder. "Here is a gap," one of them said. 'No, here is a better one. This long gap here!' A steel instrument pressed my gums, cutting into the flesh. I braced myself to resist the terrible pain. 'No, that won't do'—that voice again. 'Give me the pointed one!' A stab of sharp, intolerable agony. I wrenched



Sylvia (holding documents on the left hand side of the photograph) with a deputation of aged poor from the East End of London

my head free. Again they grasped me. Again the struggle. Again the steel cutting its way in, though I strained my force against it. Then something gradually forced my jaws apart as a screw was turned ; the pain was like having the teeth drawn. They were trying to get the tube down my throat, I was struggling madly to stiffen my muscles and close my throat. They got down, I suppose, though I was unconscious of anything save a mad revolt of struggling, for they said at last : 'That's all !' and I vomited as the tube came up. They left me on the bed exhausted, gasping for breath and sobbing convulsively."

The same thing was repeated in the evening, but, she says, "I was too tired to fight so long."

She was later visited by the prison Governor who came with the complaint that she had struck the principal wardress. "Did I hurt you ?" she asked. "No", the wardress replied. The Governor none the less sentenced her to some days of solitary confinement.

Day after day, morning and evening, the struggle went on. "Infinitely worse than the pain," she says, "was the sense of degradation ; the very fight that one made against the outrage was shattering one's nerves and one's self-control." She lived in a nightmare world. "Not a whisper of news came to me from the outside world, nor even from within the gaol itself. Often I vomited during the struggle and while the tube was being withdrawn, but at other times I could not . . . My back and head ached almost constantly . . . I was tasting the stuff administered at one meal when they came to pour in more . . . At last I discovered that by thrusting my hand down my throat I could make myself sick. Now, as soon as I could pull myself together after each feeding, I struggled till I had brought up what had been forced into me, choking and straining, the cords of my streaming eyes feeling as though they would snap. The flesh round the eyes and the eyeballs themselves grew daily more painful ; the eyes shrank from the light. I noticed that the officials who came to my door stopped to stare at me."

She now decided upon a sleep strike, and paced up and down her cell : five steps to the window end, abruptly turning, five steps back to the door, and so on and on. "I felt very sick and faint, terribly faint, but I would not stop." In her weakened state she could stand no more than two hours of this—she felt a terrible pain in her chest, and her legs gave way under her. The head wardress who had accused her rushed into the room crying "Darling, darling," and put her to bed.

She was up, however, between six and seven the next morning, determined that she would not cease walking till she was released. The doctor came in to feed her, there was the same old struggle. "I felt sick, terribly sick and faint," she says, "but I would not faint." Every official who came to the cell door was shocked at the sight of her. Intrigued by this though she had no mirror she contrived to look at her reflection in a tin reflector attached to the gas mantle : "My face was white, my eyes horrible, like cups of blood."

She struggled on. "At times all went black, and I fell, but did not lose consciousness, and after an instant I rose again and continued to march . . . Again the misery of the evening struggle . . . Again I marched."

Late in the evening steps paused outside her cell. "She says she is going to walk about till she goes, sir.

"Shall we tie her to the bed ?" The doctor answered, "No, she'll soon get tired of that."

Throughout the whole night she walked, or rather tottered, backwards and forwards, her legs sore and swollen, her joints stiff. In the morning the principal officer came to her with a tired face. "You make me ill," she said. "I have heard you walking all night."

Sylvia, who had by now been walking continuously for 28 hours, asked to see the governor and the doctor together. They agreed that though it was Sunday she should be allowed to petition the Home Secretary for an independent medical examination and would send a report of their own. Her condition was by then so obviously serious that they told her that she would be released, though it would take till the following Wednesday for the formalities to be complete. On this assurance she agreed to take two cups of milk a day.

Immediately on her release she wrote a long Press statement, which received the widest possible publicity and sought to reveal the psychological as well as the physical evils of forcible feeding. The reaction of George Bernard Shaw was in many ways typical :

"If you take a woman and torture her you torture me. These denials of fundamental rights are really a violation of the soul. They are an attack on that sacred part of life that is common to all of us, that part which has no individuality, that which is real, the thing of which you speak when you talk of 'the life everlasting.'"

"Rather than be a party to such an outrage," commented the *Medical Times*, "we would resign the most lucrative appointment ever held by a member of the 'noble' profession."

Sylvia's release was of course only temporary, occasioned by the Government's reluctance to see the suffragettes dying in prison. As soon as her health was recovered she would be arrested anew, and obliged to serve the rest of her sentence. Towards the end of June she was visited by two detectives, and handed summons to appear at court "as a disturber of the peace of our Lord the King." She was due to address a meeting at Bromley Public Hall on the following Monday.

Determined not to respond to the summons but to attend the meeting she made her escape, and in due course slipped into the meeting in disguise. "As soon as the people saw me," she recalls, "they sprang to their feet, cheering and waving their hands, whilst a crowd of friends slammed and barricaded the doors. The knowledge that a warrant had been issued for my arrest had packed the hall long before the time, and hundreds of people were gathering outside. The cheers ringing out into the street soon spread the news that I was within. A strong force of police and detectives mustered at the entrance. When the speeches were done, the people formed a bodyguard to protect me, crowding together in a dense mass, and thus jammed together we pushed our way out, in spite of a horde of detectives crowding about the door to take me. Dozens of men and women held their arms around me and each other in the centre of the crush. Detectives, fighting their way through the crowd, grasped at me over the shoulders of the people around me. My light dress was a target for their eyes, even in the darkness. Men and women thrust the police away, and we pressed on ; but in the pitch black night detectives, big men in plain clothes, began to mingle

with my protectors, trying to tear me from them. Wrenched this way and that, I could scarcely tell friends from foes. My feet were constantly trampled on. The dozens who held me amongst them began to run—faster, faster . . . I called to them : 'Friends, not so fast.' They could not hear me in the struggle. I was losing breath. We were leaving the main body of the crowd behind. The police, seizing their advantage, were closing round us, dragging at us ; separating us ; tearing me. 'By God, you shan't have her !' a man cried. The police struck at him with savage blows, and hurled him away. I was seized."

The next morning she was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and was taken back to Holloway gaol. Though resenting the dreary confinement to which she was returned she was now happy and confident, for she was sure that the "Cat and Mouse Act," as the act under which prisoners were only temporarily released was called, would stimulate mass action throughout the East End, and subsequently the country as a whole.

The old routine was again repeated. She was offered tea, bread and butter, chops and steaks, jellies and fruit, but refused even to take water. The thirst strike, she tells, was the worst of all, producing a horrible taste in the mouth, the tongue becoming dry, hot and thickly coated, the saliva thick and yellow, the urine growing thicker, darker, more scanty, and only passed with difficulty. During this period she felt continuously cold, suffered from pains in the small of the back and the chest, had gripping pains in the stomach and abdomen and palpitations and pain in the region of the heart.

After five days' hunger and thirst strike she again turned to the sleep strike, as it was then Friday and she wished to address a meeting on the following Monday. Having by no means recovered from her earlier imprisonment she was already fainting by Saturday and was in consequence released on Sunday evening just in time for the meeting.

Greeted by enthusiastic crowds she was by now a popular hero and went to the meeting with her certificate of release—which was for a seven day period only. The people shouted : "We'll never let them take you back ! Votes for Women This Year !" She held meetings every night and spent the day time writing article after article for the English and American press. The police tried to rent a house opposite hers, better to superintend her, and told the poor widow who owned it that "it will be a small fortune to you while it lasts." "Money," the brave little woman replied, "wouldn't do me any good if I was to hurt that young woman !" The same proposal was made and rejected at every house in the old Ford Road. The poor people of the neighbourhood were constant visitors ; one would bring two fresh eggs laid by her neighbour's hens, another an orange or a bunch of flowers. "Letters," she says, "rained upon me. Troubles with landlords, employers, Government departments and insurance societies were brought to me for solution and exposure."

After the expiry of her licence she again spoke at Bromley Public Hall, which she again entered in disguise. "Almost suffocated by the burning of my heart," she says, "I passed through the lines of detectives waiting to seize me, and up the stairs with the people streaming into the hall . . . A detective snatched

at me as I hurried to the platform. His action betrayed his presence ; men and women hurled themselves upon him ; he was hustled out and down the street. A crowd of stalwarts shut and guarded the main door." Tearing off the dark coat and hat which was her disguise she rose to speak, the air rent with cheers. "They say that life is sweet and liberty is precious," she declared ; "there is no liberty for us so long as the majority of our people live wretched lives. Unless we can free them from the chains of poverty, life, to us, is not worth preserving, and I, for one, would rather leave this world."

She then jumped down among the people, hatless, in light dress, easily discernible amongst the dark-clad people. Pressing together the whole mass passed out of the hall and slowly descended the stairs. The police were massed outside the only entrance, and comprised dozens of detectives with heavy sticks and a hundred or more men in uniform. Suddenly they were deluged with a tremendous torrent of water : Zelie Emerton had arranged for the fire hose to be turned on them. In the uproar Sylvia escaped into the darkness, and, together with a few friends and several unknown members of the audience—one of whom as it turned out was the wife of the author of the socialist song "The Red Flag"—she found a hiding place in a disused stable. When it was safe to leave she was hidden in a cart piled with firewood and taken to the house of her old friend Willy Lansbury.

A few nights later she addressed another huge meeting, this time at the Canning Town Public Hall and after her speech again managed to escape the detectives in the darkness of the night.

Not long afterwards, on July 27, she decided to speak at Trafalgar Square in broad daylight and arrived in an aggressively American shepherd's plaid coat and skirt stuffed with newspaper across the chest. It was the largest meeting anyone could remember for thirty years ; filling the entire square, it overflowed into the surrounding streets and up the steps and terrace of the National Gallery. As she climbed on to the plinth beside the lions she saw Superintendent Wells and heard him ask, "Has Miss Pankhurst come ?" A detective answered "No."

When her time to speak came, she tore off her disguise, amid a great waving of hands and a roar of cheering. With a storm of acclaim they adopted the resolution to carry the women's "Declaration of Independence" to Downing Street. She then jumped from the plinth and was caught by the people below ; together they swept from the square into Parliament Street, the whole concourse of people following behind, before the police could bring up their massed forces which were waiting in the side streets. Detectives were everywhere in the crowd, but the people always knew them and hustled them away. There was, she says, "a strange, deep, growling sound in the crowd about me I had never heard before : the sound of angry men. At the top of Whitehall, mounted policemen met us ; we rushed between. The people protecting me gathered in a thick bunch with their arms about each other, thrusting the horses aside."

They had, however, gone too fast, thus enabling the police to break in between her and the main bulk of the crowd. A taxi stood in the road beside her. Friends

opened the door and begged her to drive away to elude the police, but she answered, "No, I am going with you to Downing Street!" The cab door was slammed, and the crowd marched on. The police rushed up reinforcements and dashed forward, beating their way through the people, striking some of them down and taking others prisoner. Sylvia was at length seized and dragged past the end of Downing Street, which, as an added precaution, was guarded by a double cordon of police with a mass of mounted men behind.

She was taken to Cannon Row police station, where she snatched a tumbler and broke a window in an effort to get in touch with the people outside, and was conveyed thence once again to Holloway gaol. "Horri-fied," as she says at her return, she decided to begin the sleep as well as the food and water strike, from the start, in the hope of gaining an earlier release. She had begun walking on Sunday and by Wednesday was beginning to faint, suffering from pressure and noises in the head, by Friday she was suffering from a severe fever and was released in the evening.

It was only then that she learnt that the Sunday march on Downing Street had created a sensation. It was in fact the first large-scale demonstration of popular turbulence created by the movement. H. W. Nevison observed :

"The barbarity of the 'Cat and Mouse' Act has struck very deep into the mind of the ordinary man and women . . . A great deal also is due to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's action in throwing herself upon the genuine chivalry and good sense of the workers in the East End. I think that was a stroke of genius. We have all the working classes now, not only favourable, but zealous. After the battle of Valmy, when the national troops of the French Revolution held in check the hirelings of official Europe, Goethe said to his friends : 'Today marks a turning-point in history, and we can say we were present at it.' We who were in the Square last Sunday can say the same."

Another great Trafalgar Square meeting was organised for August 10, by the Free Speech Defence Committee. Sylvia again managed to elude the police in reaching the meeting, but was again arrested while leading the crowds to Downing Street. Again she struck in the prison, and was released after four days. Continuous meetings were held in the East End. Excitement was constantly rising, members of the crowd were arming themselves with "Saturday nights," made of tarred rope, closely twisted, for use in fighting with the police.

Sylvia, now more and more frequently incapacitated with attacks of pain, was urged to go away for a time. She slipped out of the country in disguise and conducted a rapid lecture tour of Denmark and Norway where she was welcomed with enthusiasm by large audiences.

She was soon back in England, and on October 13, she came once again in disguise to another East End meeting which was called to welcome her back. In the middle of her speech she saw the crowd in extraordinary agitation cry to her, 'Jump, Sylvia! Jump!' She jumped from the platform as detectives armed with sticks poured on to the platform from the rear. Members of the audience fought back with chairs and benches as she made her way out. Members of the crowd kept on changing her hat so as to make it more difficult for her to be discerned from afar.

Outside the hall mounted police with rearing horses were driving the people before them. The mass was scattered, re-formed and were scattered again. Sylvia was conducted through this scene of disorder by "Kosher" Hunt, a noted East End prize-fighter who dashed up to her rescue. "In the commotion," she relates "a uniformed constable recognised me. I saw him start, and raise his arm to stop me passing, then he drew back—from fear or pity? I thought the latter." In the dark she made her escape—this time to the house of supporters in Hampstead.

The following night she spoke at Poplar Town Hall and came disguised as a poor woman, carrying a "baby" in her arms. She was, however, spotted by the detectives and speedily arrested, despite efforts by the crowd to secure her release. Another period of 9 days' hunger and thirst strike followed which she cut short, as on previous occasions, by a sleep strike neatly timed to achieve her release in time for her next appointment.

Now followed in some ways the most remarkable action of all and one designed to forge a strong link between the women's and workers' movements: she agreed to speak at a great Albert Hall meeting called to demand the release from prison of James Larkin, a Liverpool Irishman who had organised a series of very successful strikes in Dublin, capital of an Ireland then struggling for Home Rule. She received a bigger burst of applause than any other speaker and at the end of the proceedings had little difficulty in making good her escape amid a crowd of 10,000 people. The Labour *Daily Herald*, then edited by her friend George Lansbury, underlined the significance of her presence on the platform, observing: "Every day the industrial rebels and the suffrage rebels march nearer together."

The meeting, and the *Herald's* comment had far-reaching results, and, as Dangerfield says, "put the finishing touch to what had already become an impossible situation." The suffragettes as a militant movement operating in what was for them a non-democratic state—the women had no votes—were governed by rigid discipline. Dangerfield recalls that Sylvia's mother had already some time earlier warned her closest and most unselfish supporters, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, that if they did not accept suffragette official policy "we will smash you!"

Sylvia herself had now to face the implications of this desire for monolithic unity and conformity of policy, for her mother and sister objected to her whole-hearted espousal of the popular cause.

In East London, however, the struggle went on. At her next meeting, at Bow Baths, she succeeded in addressing the audience and making good her escape despite a force of three hundred mounted police sent to arrest her. On the following day she again returned to Lansbury's house hidden in a wood cart. She then spoke at the Bow Palace Music Hall and marched to her home where she addressed the crowd from the window. She next held a meeting at Shoreditch Town Hall, where she was again arrested only to be released after a six days' strike.

On January 4, 1914, she was arrested by two policemen after a meeting in Covent Garden; she struck and was released as usual on January 6.

Soon afterwards, her sister, who was still in hiding in Paris requested her to come to France to discuss policy. There the emigré view was expounded to her that the suffragette movement had to be based on "picked women, the very strongest and most intelligent," not on the women of the masses. It was decided as a result that Sylvia's movement should henceforth separate from the Women's Social and Political Union : it soon adopted the name East London Federation of the Suffragettes ; it had its permanent office in the East India Dock Road and its own organ, *The Women's Dreadnought*, each issue of which sold 20,000 copies. "It was my earnest desire," she writes, "that it should be a medium through which the working women, however unlettered, might express themselves, and find their interests protected. I took infinite pains in correcting and arranging their manuscripts, endeavouring to preserve the spirit and unsophisticated freshness of the original. I wanted the paper as far as possible to be written from life ; no dry arguments, but a vivid presentation of things as they are, arguing always from the particular, with all its human features, to the general principle."

Meeting followed meeting. Two men's organisations sprang up in support of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes. One of them held a meeting at Trafalgar Square on March 8 at which Sylvia was seized by police on foot assisted by mounted police. The officers tried to take her away by bus, but the conductor refused to allow them to board. "No, no ! You shan't get her on here ! I won't help you to take her !" he cried. She was, however, dashed back to Holloway gaol by taxi, while the crowd fought its way on to Downing Street.

As soon as she was released she planned a march on Westminster Abbey, to be followed by public prayer on "Mothering Sunday." By this time she was so weakened by constant hunger, thirst and sleep strikes that she was obliged to travel in a spinal chair borrowed from the Cripples' Institute. On the day in question this failed to work and was carried shoulder high by the crowd past policemen too few in number to reach her in so vast a crowd. On reaching the Abbey they found the door closed, but Parson Wills, the leader of the procession, held the service outside.

Almost her next political meetings were in Budapest and Vienna : though warmly welcomed in Hungary and Austria her meetings in Germany were forbidden by the Kaiser's government.

After more meetings in Bow she was seized while organising a "Women's May Day" procession in which she was to march in the centre of twenty women chained to each other. They refused to hand over the keys and the padlocks were smashed to pieces on their hands by police batons, while the crowd struggled to secure the release of their leaders. "We received many a blow during the process," she records, "and any woman who attempted to hinder the work had her face pinched, her hair pulled, arms twisted and thumbs bent back." The populace meanwhile repeatedly charged the police who fought back with mounted police and truncheons. Part of the Park railings were destroyed.

As they took her by taxi to the prison one of the policemen said to her, "The best part of it all is the way

the people fight for you and are willing to make sacrifices for the cause."

Still another strike brought speedy release ; she felt that the time had come to make a final appeal to the Prime Minister. Until now he had argued that the suffragette demand came only from a handful of women, not from the masses. The time had come for him to receive a deputation of women popularly elected from one of the great open rallies of the East End of London. She would accompany the deputation which would be almost certainly refused access to the Prime Minister. Since her licence had expired she would be arrested : she would then continue a hunger and thirst strike, inside or outside prison, until the deputation was received. "Asquith might maintain his refusal to the bitter end ; he had always been stubborn. In that case I must leave others to carry on the fight. I did not want to die and leave all that we hoped to die—yet I was willing to die if it might help to ensure the victory."

After consulting her closest followers she wrote to the Prime Minister, asking him to receive a deputation. He refused. She then replied :—

"... you have on many occasions stated that you are unaware of any widespread popular demand for Votes for Women . . .

"Do you realise that since I was arrested for a speech to the people who came in procession from East London to Trafalgar Square, in which I asked them to go to your house in Downing Street to hoot you for your refusal to give votes to women, I have spoken at dozens of immense public meetings when liable to re-arrest by the police ; and in each case the general public, who have come quite freely and without tickets or payment, into the largest halls of those districts, have rallied round me, to a man and to a woman, to protect me from the police, although they have incurred many hard blows and risked imprisonment in doing so ? . . . A large proportion of the women of East London are living under terrible conditions . . . The women are impatient to take a constitutional part in moulding the conditions under which they have to live . . .

"... I cannot think that if you realized the strength and earnestness of the movement . . . it would fail to make an impression on you. I regard this deputation as of such importance that I have determined, should you refuse to receive the deputation and I be snatched away from the people, as I probably shall be, and taken back to Holloway, my 'Cat and Mouse' licence having expired, I will not merely hunger strike in Holloway, as I have done eight times under this present sentence, but when I am released, I shall continue my hunger strike at the Strangers' Entrance to the House of Commons, and shall not take either food or water until you receive this deputation. I know very well from what has happened in the past that I am risking my life in coming to this conclusion, because, so far, you have almost invariably refused the appeals which Suffragists have made to you. At the same time I feel it my duty to take this course, and I shall not give way, although it may end in my death."

Again the Prime Minister refused. When this was announced at her next meeting the women broke forth in weeping. On June 10 she led the procession, was arrested as she had expected, and was taken to Holloway, while the procession re-formed and marched on to the

House of Commons, which it found strongly guarded by an army of police. The elected deputation was refused admission, but were interviewed by the Chief Liberal Whip, after which they made a number of speeches, but there were no arrests.

On the following day Sylvia's hunger strike was debated in the House of Commons. The Home Secretary, Mr. McKenna, remarked that he had been obliged to deal with "a phenomenon absolutely without precedent in history." He had been advised to allow some of the hunger strikers to die, but felt that "so far from putting an end to militancy" it would be "the greatest incentive to militancy which could ever happen . . . I do not believe this is a policy which, on consideration, will ever recommend itself to the British people, and I am bound to say for myself that I could never take a hand in carrying it out."

A week later, on June 18, Sylvia was released on account of her hunger strike and was taken by the prison wardresses to her home where a crowd had collected. Though she felt very faint when she sat upright she gave orders to be driven to the House. She was greeted by Keir Hardie and another Member of Parliament who told her that the Speaker would not allow her to enter the House because of the earlier stone throwing incident. A message was sent to the Speaker but he maintained his prohibition. She laid herself down outside the House, by the statue of Oliver Cromwell, and was told by the police that she could not stay. An altercation was in progress when news arrived that the Prime Minister had at long last consented to receive the deputation. People began to cheer. "We are winning! We are winning!" was the general cry. Everyone felt this was an omen of the turning of the tide.

"This scene," Dangerfield writes, "deserves to be recorded on a canvas and hung in a Town Hall or a municipal Gallery or wherever it is that such pictures belong . . . The late summer evening drifts out of Parliament Square . . . A momentary gleam, perhaps, could be made to light upon that little group of people, as they bend over the recumbent Sylvia with expressions of solicitude and agitation and triumph . . . *We are winning!* That shrill cry in Parliament Square had a deep significance. Nor is it only the significance which attached to every movement of the militant suffragettes: the significance, that is, of new life in the soul of woman. It is curiously enough the small voice of all England in its last year before the war."

On the following day she prepared the statement to be read by the deputation, for she decided not to be present herself. "Let these working mothers," she says, "speak for themselves; it was for this I had struggled. The statement would give them the cue and break the ice for them. I had put into it what I knew was in their hearts."

The deputation was received in due course, and made its case very forcibly, each after their own fashion. A few days later Lloyd George, another of the Liberal leaders, agreed to meet Sylvia, and promised if militancy was abandoned that he would "stake" his "political reputation" on the passage of votes for women on broad lines in the next session of Parliament, and resign if defeated. He would give written guarantees of this,

which it would be "political dishonour" for him to repudiate.

The Government was at last cracking before Sylvia's offensive, for, as Dangerfield says, "It was *her* deputation which, on June 18, the Prime Minister consented to receive. It was she—a prisoner under the Cat and Mouse Act, a discredited woman, officially barred from the precincts of Parliament—who, lying *in articulo mortis* on the steps of the Strangers' Entrance, had wrested from the head of the Government this vital concession."

The emigré leadership in Paris was, however, reluctant to accept the implications of the new state of affairs. When Sylvia suggested a meeting to discuss the tactics to be adopted, her sister telegraphed to Sylvia's principal aide, Norah Smyth: "Tell your friend not to come." Then came World War I and a new chapter in history. —Dangerfield comments: "Only Sylvia, the single realist among the suffrage leaders, maintained that war was a disaster. She alone continued to call for the Vote, and to declare that women should stand for peace, not bloodshed. But what was the use? The East London Federation of working women could not exist in solitude."

Sylvia, who opposed the war, continued to advocate the vote, and devote herself to social work, while her mother and sister toured the country making speeches about the "German massacre." Forces greater than any of them thus rent the women's movement in twain and scattered its members to the winds, the ties of blood counting far less than the forces which caused the European powers to fight amongst themselves and destroyed the world that had existed for a hundred years.

Between 1914 and 1919 she opened and acted as Honorary Secretary to the Mothers' Arms, a maternity clinic and Montessori school, and four other clinics. To alleviate wartime distress she established two cost-price restaurants, as well as the East London Co-operative Toy Factory, which was designed to provide work for persons rendered unemployed by the dislocation of the economy. She also founded and served as Honorary Secretary to the League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives, a society which she set up to work for better pensions and allowances and to ensure that relatives actually received those to which they were entitled in law. In the political field she founded and became Honorary Secretary of the National Labour Council for Adult Suffrage.

The granting of votes for women was postponed, but rendered inevitable by the war. At the close of hostilities Sylvia's mother stood as a Conservative candidate for Parliament, while her sister, Christabel, forsook this world and became an advocate of the Second Coming of Christ. Sylvia, on the other hand, followed a different path. Though refusing to become a member of the Communist Party she supported the Russian revolution and formed the People's Russian Information Bureau; she later travelled to Moscow as a Socialist leader and was imprisoned in 1920 under the D.O.R.A.

She concludes her account in the *Suffragette Movement* of that struggle which has won her a place in world history with a single brief sentence:—

"Great is the work which remains to be accomplished!"

## Her Art

Interested in art from early youth she won the Lady Whitworth Scholarship as the best woman student at the Manchester School of Art in 1901. In the following year she won a National Silver Medal for designs for mosaic, a Primrose Medal, and the highest prize open to students at her school, the Proctor Travelling Scholarship, a vacation scholarship which entitled its holder to travel abroad. She elected to go to Venice to study mosaics and to Florence for frescoes. She relates in the *Suffragette Movement* that "eager to use every available moment" in Venice she rose at five every morning and went into the streets to paint until eight. Then, having breakfasted, she proceeded to St. Mark's to copy mosaics, to San George degli Schiavoni to copy the Carpaccio's, or to some other church or the Academia, on similar intent. In the afternoons she had other painting in hand: the Rialto with its moving crowds, the Ca' d'Oro, some gaily furnished stall or shop, with its picturesque vendors. When the cold weather came she attended the Academia delle Belle Arti, and worked in the life class under the Italian artist Tito. No other woman student was studying the human figure at that time, and when she applied for admission Tito sent her to the antique room where she found not a single student at work. "I guessed that I should never get into the life class if I waited to be sent there," she recalls, "and next day I simply walked in. 'So you are here,' said Tito when he saw me, and thereafter treated me like any other student."

On returning to England she was asked by the Independent Labour Party to decorate Pankhurst Hall at Hightown in Salford, only to learn while working on the decorations that the club which met there was closed to women. Soon afterwards she took the examination for the Royal College of Arts and came out first among competitors from the whole of Britain. She thus had a promising artistic career ahead of her when she decided to devote all her energies to the women's movement. The Italian woman artist, Emilia Cemino Folliero, begged her to abandon politics and suggested that they should go together to paint an old castle in the Italian mountains, but Sylvia had made up her mind.

Though her participation in the Cause greatly restricted her artistic activity she was requested in 1909 to prepare the decorations for a Women's Social and Political Union exhibition at the Prince's Skating Rink, Knightsbridge, a hall measuring 250 feet by 150 feet. Though she had only three months to execute this immense piece of work it was a remarkable effort. The first three weeks were spent searching to find premises large enough and willing to house the designs for the modest rent the movement could afford. Together with three other women, former students of the Royal College of Art, she agreed herself to work for a mere 30 shillings a week. "We did not," she recalls, "want to take more from the movement," though four men assistants insisted on a somewhat higher pay: 10d. an hour. She made all the designs, to quarter scale, the women assistants enlarged them and painted the human figures, while the men painted

the ground and executed the ornament. "The large work," she says, "was an exhilarating experience. One felt alive, indeed, as the small designs grew and covered huge surfaces. It was a tremendous rush to get finished in time. From waking to sleeping, I scarcely paused except to overlook the work of my assistants."

At the end of her labours she worked continuously for two days and two nights. When the woman artist Amy Browning came to her studio on the last morning Sylvia almost fainted on seeing that while working on the high tower which moved on wheels she had crushed two mice that they had tamed.

Though she foresook art for politics she had made for herself a niche in the history of art. Hers are the only two drawings of Keir Hardie, the founder of the British Labour Party, produced from life; they hang to-day in the National Portrait Gallery in London. Other works by her are to be seen in the London Museum as well as in a local museum at Walthamstow, near Woodford, where she lived for many years. In her last home in Addis Ababa hang an interesting but little known series of sketches she made to illustrate industrial and other employment in the early years of the century. One of them is reproduced in this issue.

A portrait of Keir Hardie and a number of her other works were exhibited last December at the French Institute in London at the suggestion of her artist friend, Elsa Fraenkel. The exhibition, which was organised by Lady Winstedt, was opened by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, the Indian Commissioner in London, who paid tribute to an artist who had given up an artistic career for the suffragette movement and continued in other good causes, including that of the liberation of India.

\* \* \*

## Her Poetry

One of her few relaxations was the composition of poetry. Apart from her earlier published verse, which is elsewhere referred to, mention should be made of the long poem *O Addis Ababa, O New Flower*, which appeared in the second issue of this journal.

After her death a small blue notebook was found beside her bed which contained a number of unpublished lines, some referring to the late Duke of Harar, as well as what was obviously a series of first drafts of a poem to the Ethiopian eucalyptus tree. The first three poems, which have no titles, are as follows:

I

Lament, lament, lament  
For the young Duke of Harar.  
His thoughts so kindly bent  
Well beloved for his valour.  
When shone the morning sky  
O'er the crest of Entoto  
It was his fate to die  
On the high road at Mojo.

(continued on page 25)



*Photo, Haile Mezemghe*

The potters at work: one of Sylvia's series of paintings of early nineteenth century English industry

## HER POETRY

(continued from page 23)

### II

Willow sad Willow  
That weeps o'er the billow  
Of the slow river shallow  
When summer is late.  
So soft is the fall of the light summer rain  
They seek for the lad where the sweet water gushes  
Through the reeds and the rushes.  
O willow sad willow  
I weep for my mate.

### III

Low lie the rushes  
O low lie the rushes  
When the flood water flushes  
O'er mountain and plain.  
Alas for the child that went fleeing before it  
For sad is the heart of the mother that bore it  
O fierce is the force of the river in spate  
Fierce fierce is the force of the river in spate.

\* \* \*

Several pages further in the book are the following lines, evidently written after seeing a blind Ethiopian boy playing the piano, but still in rough form:

How did these blinkers fall on you of Ethiop kind  
Whose eyes are strong and lustrous seeing far?  
Your shapely fingers touch the keys, ah welladay  
You sit entranced by your sweet melody.  
Your world in sound, to you are dear  
Things that the sighted { never } hear  
Dear to you are the voices of the trees  
Bespeak each other by the wandering breeze.

The poem on the eucalyptus tree, which would undoubtedly have been full of imagery, was never completed. The rough book only contains some of the basic ideas for it and a series of unfinalised drafts which would have been substantially altered. It was the author's practice to write and rewrite her verse many times, developing form and content as she proceeded, before deciding on the final version. This may seem from the following lines, only the first of which are in any way definitive:

O lofty, lofty Eucalyptus tree  
Bowing your dusky crests to every breeze  
How upright in your serried ranks you stand  
As did your forebears in th' Australian land

Fair island in the far antipodes  
Welcome you are for your strong speedy growth  
Endears you to the thrifty peasant wife  
Your numerous stems forever give men life  
To the spent hearth she tells you nothing loath  
Here on this Afric plateau rising far more high  
Towering as though you fain would reach the sky  
Than in your own primeval land  
In serried rank on rank you bravely stand.

The way in which the poem would have continued can be made out from the following notes:

In fancy limned amid the yellow haze  
Australia's kangaroo I can descry who leaping comes  
while snugly in her pouch  
Her bright-eyed youngster snug does crouch.  
And when the monsoon shakes you how you  
sway  
Creaking and groaning, while it tears away  
Your rod-like strips of bark and hurls them far . . .

You are gone my Eucalyptus woods that I have  
watched so gladly in your many changing moods. The  
woodmen's axe has brought you to the ground. Only  
poor stumps remain of your once serried files of stately  
growths and those high gracious holding crests that  
bowed all graciously to every wind.

More lovely than your far Australian kind  
Those conquerors from whom your seeds were  
sprung  
So you are gone poor victims of the axe  
Yet from your death your life shall rise again  
A single stem replaced by four or five  
While yet your root remains you are alive.  
Like Phoenix!

\* \* \*

## Her Writings

She was remarkably prolific as a writer. She produced no less than a dozen books and as many pamphlets, besides editing five newspapers which ran for over thirty years. Her books and more important pamphlets contain at least 1,850,000 words; her total literary output was in fact much higher as she wrote innumerable articles for newspapers and journals in all parts of the world, besides contributing copiously to her own periodicals. For the *Ethiopia Observer*, for example, she wrote well over 500,000 words in the last 4 years of her life.

Her first major work, *The Suffragette*, appeared in 1911 at the height of the Women's Suffrage movement, and was a history of the movement from its inception in 1905 till 1910. Its frontispiece was a photograph of the author designing the decorations for the Prince's Skating Rink, while on its title page appeared the words:

"You have made of your prisons a temple of honour"—a quotation from a speech of the Liberal Prime Minister, W. E. Gladstone.

A number of pamphlets of various sizes followed, perhaps the most notable of which was *Writ on Cold Slate* (1921), a series of poems written in prison, and *Education of the Masses*, an appeal for popular education.

During this period Sylvia Pankhurst edited and largely wrote a weekly newspaper, the *Women's Dreadnaught*, which catered largely for working women, and was later renamed the *Worker's Dreadnaught*.

A visit to Moscow in 1920, three years after the Russian Revolution, led to the publication in 1921 of *Soviet Russia as I Saw It*, a description of the new regime in its infancy. Though strongly opposed to foreign intervention against the infant State she was critical of some of its policies, and had been criticised by Lenin, being in fact one of the only two British writers to be considered worthy of attention by the Russian leader at that time. Persons who in later life found her impatient of bureaucracy may not be surprised to read that on one occasion having been kept waiting by the Red Guards at the Kremlin when she had an appointment with Lenin she just ran past them though they had rifles and bayonets. "You might have been shot," she was afterwards told.

"What would be the use of shooting me, I could not do any harm," she replied.

"It was a woman who shot Lenin," was the reply.

A decade later followed one of her most important works, *The Suffragette Movement*, which contains interesting biographical material and bore the sub-title, "An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals." This massive book of 609 pages, which will almost certainly remain the classic account of the movement, bears the dedication:

To my son,  
Richard Keir Pethick Pankhurst.

This record of the struggle is dedicated in the  
cherished hope that he may give his service to  
the collective work of humanity.

Very soon afterwards, in 1925, a very different volume appeared from the same author's pen: *India and the Earthly Paradise*, another considerable work of research, published in Bombay in 638 pages. Discussing Indian society in many of its facets, it bore on its title page the words of the Russian writer, Dostoevsky:

"Thou, moreover, art working for the whole, and for the future thou labourest."

Soon afterwards, in 1927, there appeared from her pen, *Delphos: the Future of International Language*, a short history and analysis of the question of international language, and *Is an International Language Possible?* a pamphlet which came out strongly in support of "Interlingua," or Latin without inflections which was then being widely canvassed by the Italian Professor Peano.

Three years later, in 1930, there issued from the press two other very different works: *Save the Mothers* and *Poems of Mihai Eminescu*. The former, which almost immediately also appeared in a Japanese translation, called itself "a Plea for Measures to Prevent the Annual Loss of about 3,000 Child-bearing Mothers and 20,000 Infant Lives in England and Wales and a similar Grievous Wastage in other Countries." The latter was a collection of verse translated from the Rumanian and rendered into the original metres. Produced with the assistance of Dr. I. O. Stefanovici, it carried a preface by George Bernard Shaw, which was reproduced in his own hand-writing, and an introduction by the great Rumanian scholar, Professor N. Iorga.

At about this time she founded and edited a short-lived literary publication, *Germinal*.

These works were followed in 1932 by another huge volume: *The Home Front*, "a Mirror to Life in England during the World War." This important work, which contained invaluable material for the student of social history, told the story of the poor people of the East End of London its author had tried to help as no one else could have told it. In her concluding paragraphs she writes:

"Must these things be? Can we not free humanity from the enslaving burden of war preparedness which leads to war? Must the world see yet another blood bath, yet more slaughter and sacrifice for vain, ignoble objects? Shall we not take the way of human solidarity and mutual aid at long last? I believe that humanity is advancing towards the establishment of the United States of the World, consolidated in a free Socialism, wherein all shall co-operate gladly in giving to the common stock according to their abilities and in receiving from its abundance according to their needs.

"To me it is as certain as the coming of day after night that humanity will rise above the present competitive struggle for existence, assuring the necessities of life to every one of its members as a matter of course, creating a world policy to cater co-operatively for the needs of a world people. In that day the sad East End shall be joyous and beautiful as the Elysium of the Greeks and wars shall be no more."

Her *Life of Emmeline Pankhurst* appeared in 1936, with the sub-title, "The Suffragette Struggle for Women's Citizenship." This biography of her mother was the last book she wrote that was not about Ethiopia or Africa, though in 1938 she contributed an interesting autobiographical chapter of some 50 pages

to the Countess of Oxford and Asquith's symposium, *Myself When Young*.

1936 was the great turning point of her life, for in that year she founded *New Times and Ethiopia News*, a weekly newspaper which she edited for the next 20 years. The first issue appeared in the streets of London the very day that Mussolini's troops entered those of Addis Ababa. Its editor often stayed up all night two nights a week to prepare the necessary copy for the printer. The paper ran at various times a number of supplements, including an Amharic version which was smuggled across the frontier to the Ethiopian patriots, and *China News*, a publication dedicated to the cause of Chinese resistance to Japanese aggression.

*New Times and Ethiopia News* and its Editor were denounced on a number of occasions in articles personally written by the Italian dictator, and a few years later the German Nazis preparing for the invasion of Britain gave orders for her immediate arrest, as was revealed in documents captured by the British troops after the war.

Undeterred by the opposition of such war criminals she continued her writings, and several years later produced a number of pamphlets, notably, *Italy's War Crimes in Ethiopia*, which contained photographic evidence, as it said, for the War Crimes Commission, *British Policy in Eritrea and Northern Ethiopia* and *British Policy in Eastern Ethiopia and the Ogaden*, and of somewhat different scope, *Education in Ethiopia* and *The Ethiopian Co-operatives*. There was also a somewhat larger pamphlet entitled *The Ethiopian People: their Rights and Progress*.

Her newspaper, which had originally been founded to keep the flag of Ethiopian independence flying in the hard days of the Fascist usurpation, was now dedicated to the liberation of the former Italian colonies and the reunion of the Ethiopian people.

A small library now issued from her pen. The first, *Ex-Italian Somaliland*, first appeared in a series of paper-back parts which were sent to U.N.O. delegates when the future of the territory was in the balance, but later were collected into a single volume. For its frontispiece it had a photograph of a fascist racist publication in which a sword divided an Italian of the Indo-European race from a Jew and an African. In a preface to this work Mr. Peter Freeman, M.P., wrote:

"The Ethiopians have a noble champion in Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. She acquired her capacity to fight for a just cause in the struggle for the rights of women in Great Britain in 1905 and onward. Largely as a result of the efforts of the Pankhurst family, who brought the matter to the fore by their intrepid courage, women throughout the British Commonwealth now enjoy equal constitutional rights with men. The participation of women in public work is now recognised as of paramount importance to the civilised world."

"Having won this great fight and having devoted herself to alleviating the misery of the poorest of our

people in the East End of London during the first World War, she saw the misery through which the Ethiopians and their near neighbours in Eritrea and Somaliland were passing. . . ."

In the following year there appeared *Why are we Destroying the Eritrean Ports?* a large pamphlet which was shortly expanded into a book, *Eritrea on the Eve*. Both versions were illustrated by photographs taken by Haile Mezemge. The latter contains the following words by way of foreword:

"After sixty years of Italian rule and ten years of British caretaker administration, Eritrea is being federated with the Ethiopian Motherland. Ethiopia's ancient sea province subsequently Italy's much vaunted 'first born' colony, is on the eve of a great transformation. The whole Ethiopian people rejoices in a restored and new-found unity."

"But as these long-oppressed people enter into their heritage formidable problems are to be faced. The pages which follow seek to set the historical context and to sketch some of the outstanding future problems involved: the destruction of port and other installations which has been effected by the British Caretaker Government, the abysmal poverty and unemployment and the urgent need for adequate educational institutions."

One year later *Ethiopia and Eritrea* was published with the sub-title, "the Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle." It was written with the help of her son, Dr. Richard Pankhurst, because she was then suffering from the effects of a serious coronary thrombosis. It bore a dedication to:

"The gallant people of Ethiopia who throughout the ages have never surrendered their freedom; to their brothers and sisters across the Mareb who at length have been liberated from three generations of colonial bondage; and to those generous British men and women who have always remembered that justice and the friendship of peoples are greater than imperial interests and will remain fruitful when the old colonial empires are no more."

Lady Pethick Lawrence of Peaslake, in the introduction to this work, observed in biographical vein:

"It is a great honour to be invited to write the Preface to the latest book of my highly esteemed friend, Sylvia Pankhurst. I met her first in 1906 when she was Honorary Secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union in London. I watched her marvellous career during that historic battle with the Government of the day, and I yielded her the palm of the first real victory which she achieved in changing the mind of the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith. After a long and deeply painful hunger and thirst strike, the culmination of many others, she was carried, still fasting, to the House of Commons with a deputation of working women to demand for the seventh time an interview with the Prime Minister, and was laid on the steps of the House of Commons. Only then did the Prime Minister at last consent to receive the deputation who

pleaded the case for adult woman suffrage—a claim at that time not yet advanced by the W.S.P.U., which argued simply for equality.

“Sylvia Pankhurst observed the rise of Fascism with a concern which was intensified by her visit to Italy in 1920. She voiced immediate opposition to it and, subsequently, to the ramifications it developed throughout Europe. Being convinced that Fascism would lead to war, she was on the alert to defend Ethiopia against Italian aggression when the shots sounded at Wal Wal in 1934.

“Though Ethiopia was a member of the League of Nations, it was forsaken at the bidding of Mussolini. With the aid of poison gas his forces reached the Ethiopian capital. On that day, May 5, 1936, Sylvia Pankhurst published the first issue of the weekly *New Times and Ethiopia News* to uphold the flag of Ethiopia and to secure its liberation at the earliest possible time.

“When the Emperor Haille Sellassie came to England his cause was most valiantly upheld by Sylvia Pankhurst and others. I shall never forget being present at one of her public meetings where the Emperor appeared in all his marvellous dignity and self-control. It is now history that his cause was won, but when that cause was won Sylvia Pankhurst and the *New Times and Ethiopia News* were faced with yet another gross injustice; at the time when the Ethiopians were playing their bit in the fight against Italy, Britain had promised that Ethiopia’s lost province, Eritrea, which had been annexed by Italy, should be returned to its Mother Country, but when the initial victory over Italy had been won the future of Eritrea was held in suspense; the territory was governed by Italian Fascist law and Fascist officials under a British Military Administration.”

“The story will be read in this book,” she concludes, “how, at last, Eritrea won her freedom and Ethiopia regained her ancient ports on the Red Sea. . . . The great story told in this book is extremely well documented, but it has not been put together merely by research into forgotten records; the two authors immersed themselves in this struggle for justice; in part it is, therefore, their own actual life story.”

Sylvia Pankhurst’s last major work to be published—she left others in manuscript—was her 735 page volume, *Ethiopia, a Cultural History*, which covers a very wide range of Ethiopian study, dealing with history, literature, art, architecture, poetry, music and education. It bears the dedication:

To  
His Imperial Majesty  
The Emperor Haille Sellassie I  
  
Guardian of Education, Pioneer of Progress,  
Leader and Defender of his People in Peace  
and War.

The Rev. Canon John A. Douglas, who contributes the foreword, also touches on the author’s biography, remarking:

“I have been an admirer of Sylva Pankhurst since those hectic days before World War I when she and her mother and sister Christabel were helping to vitalise the votes for women campaign to secure its victory. . . .

“In 1944, at the wish of my friend Lord Horder, I became a member of the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital Council of which Sylvia Pankhurst was the founder and honorary secretary. About the Hospital and the attraction it had for me I could write screeds. But all I have space to say in this foreword is that thanks to her indomitable pertinacity the necessary funds were raised to establish in Addis Ababa a hospital which bears the name of the young Princess Tsahai, daughter of the Emperor Haille Sellassie I. An important step was thereby taken to equip the Ethiopian Empire with a medical and nursing service of its own, the vision of which had inspired the young Princess to importune her father until, though he knew how frail she was, he consented to her being trained as a nurse at the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street, where I had the privilege of seeing her at work. After five years’ training and service in the London hospitals, Princess Tsahai had only one year of work in Ethiopia allowed to her before her sad death from sheer overwork in 1942, an irreparable loss indeed to Ethiopia.

“I account being invited to write this foreword a great kindness. Sylvia Pankhurst has never missed a chance of reminding the English world of the duty to redress the wrong done to Ethiopia by the failure of the League of Nations to protect her against unprovoked aggression in accordance with the Covenant of the League, and of urging that if Britain did not do everything in its power to redress this wrong it would be rightly condemned as having failed to repay a debt of honour. It is largely due to her championship that the claim of Ethiopia to access to the sea through its ancient homeland now called Eritrea has been recognised. Ethiopia has thus ceased to be a remote inland African country.”

In her Preface the author describes her second visit to Ethiopia and concludes:

“Wherever I went . . . I felt I was among friends. I derived from my visits there more happiness than I can ever adequately express. All my memories of the beautiful country, its magnificent mountains and ever-changing skies, its glorious sunshine and climate of perpetual spring, its wealth of foliage and flowers, its erect and handsome people, graceful in their white national dress, are endeared to me by recollections of the constant kindness I was privileged to receive in that entrancing wonderland.”

Her letters, unpublished writings and memoranda will be a valuable source of research for future historians; her son has arranged for all relevant material to be preserved in the International Institute for Social History in Holland.

# Friend of Ethiopia

Long to be remembered as a friend of Ethiopia, she visited the country twice, in 1943-44 and 1951-52, before making it her final home in 1956. Her interest and support began much earlier, however, in the dark days of 1934.

Long interested in Italy, the country in which she had lived as a student, she had long been an opponent of Fascism and had founded the Society of Friends of Italian Freedom to expose the atrocities of the Fascists in that country, as well as the Women's International Matteotti Committee. She had long believed that Mussolini's policies would lead to war, and was therefore on the alert at the time of the Wal Wal incident.

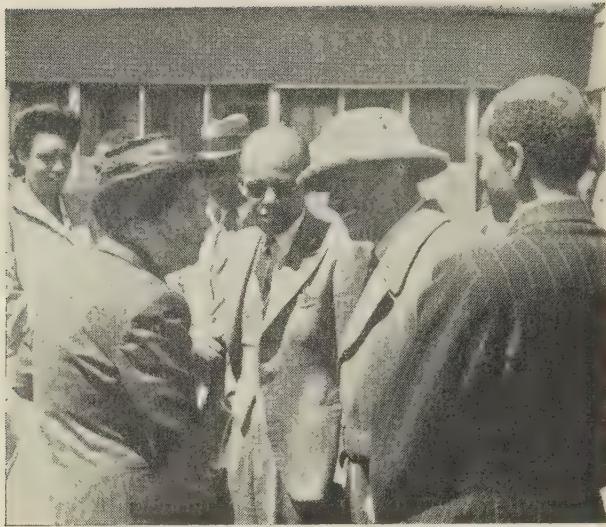
Her first writings on Ethiopia, which are discussed in greater detail in another article, appeared towards the end of 1934 when the Italo-Ethiopian dispute was still in its infancy. On December 4, 1934, she warned in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* that "we are

obviously drifting towards a second world war." A few months later on February 22, 1935, we find her writing to the *News Chronicle* pointing to the fact that the Ethiopian Government was being prevented from importing arms, and on June 2 to the *Manchester Guardian* again, urging that Ethiopia had become "the test case" of the League of Nations. Such letters were destined to become more and more frequent in the months which followed. They are to be found in the files of that period in almost every British newspaper, as well as in many from other parts of the world. She felt perhaps most at home in the *Manchester Guardian* for which she wrote frequent articles which often received editorial backing.

Her position at the outset of the Italian invasion, and indeed for years to come, may be illustrated in a letter to the *News Chronicle* which declared: "Our duty is to stand by the League of Nations in this case of Abyssinia."



Sylvia dictating to her secretary, Mrs. Adams, in her office-home in Woodford. Note photographs of Dr. Martin, the then Ethiopian Minister in London, and of Carlo Rosselli, the Italian anti-fascist leader murdered by Mussolini's order. Copies of "New Times and Ethiopia News" in the foreground.



Arriving at Addis Ababa Airport on her first visit to Ethiopia: welcome from old friends

sinia, and to give Abyssinia the justice which she asks for when she claims that her liberty and integrity must be preserved.

"To those who say that this course will lead us to war, I answer that I do not believe other than economic sanctions will be required in this case, but if the aggressor Government is allowed to conquer in this case and bolster its political and economic power, it will simply use the present conquest as a step to others, and on the next occasion it will aim at a more powerful adversary. In any case, as it was when Hitlerism came to power, Italy's aggression will be Germany's example. The powers which desire Peace and Right in Europe must act now before it is too late. The League has dallied too long; economic sanctions should be imposed without delay."

Never in any sense an enemy of the Italian people, but only of Mussolini and the Fascists, she arranged with her many Italian anti-fascist friends to produce special propaganda to be distributed in Italy against the Ethiopian war. One such appeal, which was also smuggled into Ethiopia and Eritrea, carried the following message (in translation):

"Down with Fascism.

"An Appeal to the Italians.

"Whilst all the world is longing for Peace, Mussolini, for his personal glory, unlooses war and puts Italy against all the civilised world.

"Fascism has already given to the Italian people:

"Enormous reductions of wages, now the lowest in Europe.

"Taxation higher than in other countries.

"Complete destruction of all forms of liberty, of speech, Press, Public Meetings, and Popular Representation.

"The Italian prisons are full of persons of noble mind, tortured morally and physically.

"Italian exiles are everywhere.

"Now Fascism will give you:

"A Colonial adventure, a war in Africa, which at the lowest military estimate will last three years and in which thousands of young Italians will lose their lives, prejudicing, now and for many years to come, Italian relations with other countries. Italian workers abroad, here and everywhere will suffer by it. Every hand will be raised against Italy and the Italians.

"Italian mothers rise up against this monstrous war.

"The immediate risk of a European war which will play havoc with the Italian people, their houses, their resources.

"The Ethiopia which the Fascist Government declares it will civilise is not worse to-day than the Ethiopia with which Mussolini himself made a treaty of friendship in 1928. She did not menace and does not menace Italy or any other state.

"It is to Italy that we Italians ought to restore Civilisation by destroying the Fascist reactionaries and resurrecting Freedom.

"To the Italian workers:

"The hour is solemn! We must arise! We must overthrow Fascism! Italians of free mind, we appeal to you! Either in silence, or openly, with the means that are readiest to your hands get to work immediately, unceasingly, for the downfall of Fascism.

"Have no fear, you are not alone. Already numbers of us are active. Workers of the fields and factories, manual and intellectual, students, all unite!

"Boycott, sabotage the war!



On her first visit to Ethiopia she lays a wreath on the monument to the victims of the Graziani massacre. With her is Major Assefa Lemma, her companion for much of that visit

"The New Italy of the approaching hour promises already:

Peace.

International Freedom.

Just reward for all work.

Respect of International obligations.

Respect for the independence of Abyssinia and all small nations."

Sylvia Pankhurst also communicated and conversed extensively with statesmen, Members of Parliament and political figures in many lands. Her correspondence files, which contain a wealth of historical material, are for the time being not available, but a couple of the letters she received may be quoted as typical of the complex situation then confronting the world.

At the time of the Hoare-Laval proposals, Alan C. Don, Chaplain at Lambeth Palace, wrote to her on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury on December 18, 1935, saying:

"The Archbishop of Canterbury has received your letter of December 14. I need scarcely assure you that His Grace is greatly concerned about the developments resulting from the Peace proposals drawn up by Sir Samuel Hoare and Monsieur Laval. You are correct in supposing that he has made personal representations to the Government on the subject . . ."

A few months later in the course of correspondence on the inadequacy of the sanctions then being applied, Winston Churchill wrote:

"Dear Miss Pankhurst,

"Without disputing anything you say in your letter, I hope you will realise what peril we are in. The Italian and German dictators, armed to the teeth, and arming every day, seem to have the Parliamentary and free nations at a great disadvantage. Perhaps quite soon they will have them at their mercy. I do not think you ought, with your sense of realism, to overlook this ugly fact. We have got to show that free countries can defend themselves and their rights."

Convinced of the need to supplement her already extensive letter writing she founded a weekly newspaper, *New Times and Ethiopia News*, in the spring of 1936. The first issue was published on the day that the invading armies marched into Addis Ababa. Her attitude was clearly summed up in her first editorial which contained arguments which were to be repeated week by week for many years:

"*New Times and Ethiopia News*," she wrote, "appears at a moment when the fortunes of Ethiopia seem at their lowest ebb: the greater the need for an advocate and friend.

"We know that the difficulties facing her are grave, but we do not falter, either in faith or determination that they shall be overcome.

"The cause of Ethiopia cannot be divided from the cause of International justice, which is permanent, and is not to be determined by ephemeral military victories.

"As friends of Ethiopia we most solemnly and most vigorously protest against the attack on her millennial independence; we condemn the atrocious barbarities employed against her, the bombing of her undefended



With H.I.H. Princess Tenagne Worg, an old friend from the days in England

villages, the use of poison gases, by which thousands of innocent women and children have suffered agonising death. . . .

"The Fascist Government and its hired propagandists in all lands have already launched an intensified propaganda to secure the lifting of Sanctions, and to justify the conquest of Abyssinia, or at least the retention of the occupied territories. We shall set ourselves resolutely to combat Fascist propaganda, to secure the continuance and strengthening of sanctions, which in fact are only soon beginning to exert serious economic pressure. We shall strive to induce measures by the League to resist the Fascist usurpation and defend Ethiopia, and will persistently urge that Britain take the responsibility of initiating an active League policy on these lines. . . .

"We shall urge, in season and out, that the facts of the Italo-Ethiopian war and the reason of League intervention therein to be broadcasted in all languages to inform all peoples thereon, and especially those of Italy where free information is denied.

"*New Times* is opposed to the conception of dictatorship. It understands that Fascism destroys all personal liberty and is in fundamental opposition to all forms of intellectual and moral progress.

"We draw a profound distinction between the Italian Fascist Government and the Italian people, who are enslaved to-day, but whose freedom is slowly but surely being prepared for martyrdom of thousands of heroic men and women, guardians of an inextinguishable faith, murdered, tortured, imprisoned, exiled in poverty and sorrow, they keep high and untarnished the ideal of justice."

Commenting on those difficult days in the last issue of the paper twenty years later, she observed: "At all costs we determined, a voice of truth and unswerving adherence to the principle of justice for Ethiopia must be raised on behalf of the sorely beleaguered Ethiopian



Picketing the entrance to the House of Commons at a time when the Great Powers were proposing the return of Italian colonialism to the former Italian colonies in Africa. Left to right: Miss M. A. Colson, Sylvia, Mrs. Tedros, Madame Anderson and Mrs. Currie

people. The world and the world's divers governments must be kept aware that they still resisted the aggressors, still cherished their age-old freedom, still hoped their Emperor would return with arms and allies.

"Constantly, week by week, their struggle must be made known as widely as possible. Their grievous suffering under Fascist occupation, the most terrible tyranny of all time, must be chronicled.

"The arrival of the noble Emperor of Ethiopia in Britain and afterwards at Geneva made the deepest possible impression on public opinion throughout the world. His magnificent speeches and the poignant appeals of the Empress Menen, and of their young daughter, Princess Tsahai, expressed the hope of all peoples for universal peace through Collective Security."

All this was clearly apparent in the columns of the paper at that time. On arrival at the railway station in London the Emperor was presented with the following address of welcome:

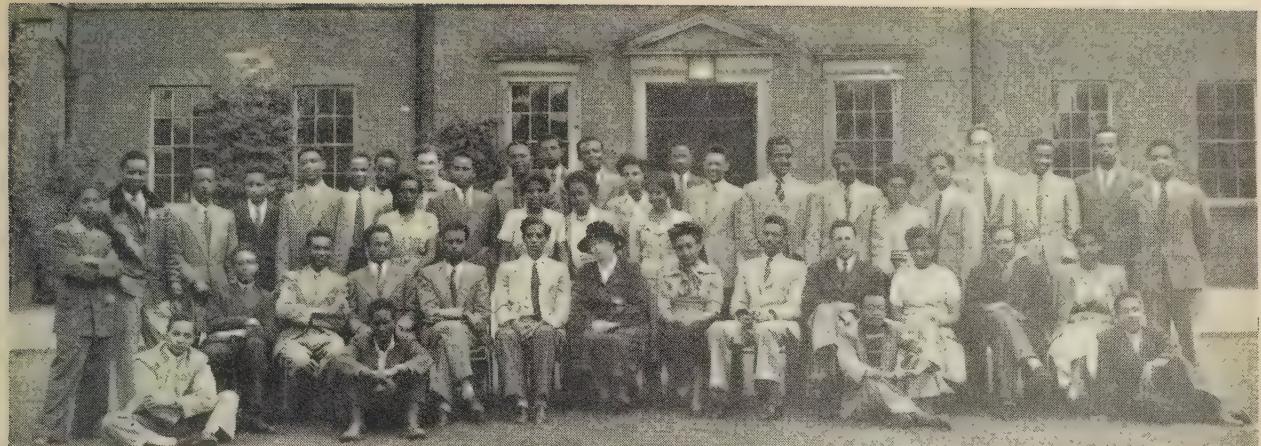
"Welcome to our land, millions of whose people honour the valiant suffering of Ethiopia under the cruel and unprovoked aggression of the Fascist Dictatorship.

"We testify our gratitude for the great and heroic service you have rendered the cause of International Peace and Justice, and our sympathy, fraught with sad and passionate indignation, for the grievous sorrow, and the cruel atrocities inflicted upon your people.

"We pledge our sincere devotion to the cause for which you stand, and our determination to strive that might shall not triumph over right, and that the outcome of this appalling, yet profoundly memorable struggle, shall be Peace with Honour, Freedom and Prosperity for Ethiopia, and the Vindication of Public Law and Human Right throughout the world."

The document, signed as from "The Editor, Contributors and Staff of the *New Times and Ethiopia News* published in Defence of Ethiopian Independence and International Justice." It bore the signature, E. Sylvia Pankhurst, followed by 32 other names, one of whom was her son, Richard K. P. Pankhurst.

Soon after his arrival the Emperor granted the Editor an interview. He received her, she says, with "the gentle graciousness which impresses all." She added: "In those irresistible eyes burns the quenchless fire of the hero who never fails his cause. One sees in his build and bearing those features full of meaning, those



At a gathering of the Ethiopian Students' Society in England

fine and eager hands, the worker who toils unceasingly for the public weal, untouched by personal ambition or material desire for wealth or safety."

To formalise the interview she submitted a series of questions to which she received written replies. The first few dealt with the international situation, while the last touched on the question of development.

"What," she asked, "do you regard as the most important achievement of your reign?"

"The construction of schools, hospitals, roads, financial reforms, the purchase of the Bank of Abyssinia and its transformation into a State bank, the fight against slavery and the establishment of schools for freed slaves."

"What was the main obstacle with which you had to contend?"

"Lack of money."

"When you return to Ethiopia after the war, assuming the Italian aggression is defeated, what do you intend?"

"To continue the above programme in the hope of receiving disinterested international assistance."

Her newspaper, which was sent every week to all members of the British Parliament as well as statesmen and men of affairs in other lands, published articles from a brilliant and dedicated band of contributors from many countries and all walks of life. Among the most frequent during the five years of the Italian occupation mention may be made of Dr. Azaj Warqneh C. Martin, then Ethiopian Minister in London; his aide, Ato Emmanuel Abraham; British scholars, like Professor F. L. Lucas and Professor A. Berriedale Keith, G. L. Steer, some time correspondent in Ethiopia for *The Times*; C. A. Turner, who was with the Red Cross in Ethiopia at the time of the invasion; Captain Arnold Weinhold, of Australia, who secretly visited the Ethiopian patriots a few years later; and numerous other British friends of Ethiopia, including Miss Nancy Cunard, Mrs. Hazel Napier, Colonel Maurice Spencer, the Rev. W. E. Walkerdine, Mr. E. J. Aburn Webster, Mr. W. Arnold-Foster, Mr. F. N. Beaufort Palmer, Mr.

H. Smalley, and Miss Mary Downes. Italian anti-fascist participation was considerable; the most frequent contributors from among them were Professor Gaetano Salvemini, then an exile in the United States; Professor Francesco Frola, an exile in Mexico; G. E. Modigliana, an exile in France; Professor Angelo Crespi, an exile in Britain; and Francesco F. Nitti, who fought for his country against Mussolini in the Spanish Civil War. The assistant editor, Silvio Corio, though stateless as



On B.B.C. Television: Sylvia shows Freddie Grisewood examples of fine Ethiopian crafts. She had at that time arranged an exhibition of Ethiopian Handicrafts at Foyle's Bookshop in Charing Cross Road, London



At a meeting in London to raise funds for the Princess Tsalial Memorial Hospital. Left to right: Isabel Fry, Brigadier Parkinson, Sylvia Pankhurst, Canon Douglas

a result of Fascism, had also been born in Italy, and usually wrote under the pseudonyms, Crastinus and Luce. Contributors from other lands included the French feminist, André Forny; the Belgian senator, Henri Rolin; the Dutch clergyman, Dr. J. B. Th. Hugenholtz; and Bela Mencer, Peter Petroff and Louis Araquistan, refugees from Hungary, Russia and Spain respectively. Many articles were also written by Dr. Harold A. Moody, founder of the League of Coloured Peoples, from rising writers from many parts of Africa, and, more rarely, from Mr. Creech Jones, M.P., then the leading Labour Party expert on colonial affairs.

Sylvia herself in talking of this time always spoke of her Indian correspondent at Jibouti, Wazir Ali Baig, who was in close touch with Ato (now Ras) Andargatchew Massai, then Ethiopian Consul in Jibouti; from him news was regularly received of the achievements

of the Ethiopian patriots. Reports were also obtained from her friend, Berhanu Tessema, in Kenya, as well as through British Somaliland and the Sudan. A very detailed account of the Graziana massacre was provided by Dr. Chakka, a Hungarian physician in Addis Ababa at the time.

She had several special issues of her paper prepared in Amharic which were smuggled into Ethiopia for the Ethiopian patriots.

Under the auspices of her newspaper she held numerous meetings, receptions, bazaars, film shows and other gatherings, besides speaking at Trafalgar Square and other meetings and conferences organised by others and writing innumerable articles for newspapers in every continent. Of the gatherings she herself organised mention may be made of no more than a few. There

was the Requiem Service for Ras Desta and the Ethiopian martyrs conducted by the Dean of Winchester at St. George's, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, on March 18, 1937. A few months later she held a two-day gathering at the Westminster Palace Rooms on November 18 and 19, 1937, which was attended by a very representative gathering, including branches from the League of Nations Union, the Friends' Peace Council, the London Federation of Peace Councils, and Peace Councils in many towns and districts, the London Co-operative Society's Educational Committee, and members of Co-operative Councils, Trade Councils, Churches, Missionary Societies, the Action Feministe Internationale, the India League, branches of the Women's International League and Peace Crusade, the Union of Democratic Control, the Federation of Progressive Societies and individuals, the League of Coloured Peoples, the African Service Bureau, the Negro Welfare Association, the Kenya Association (i.e., Jomo Kenyatta), the Abyssinia Association, the Friends of Abyssinia and the Dutch Association for the Liberation of Ethiopia.

"Miss Pankhurst," the Dean of Winchester on that occasion declared, "is a past-master in getting up meetings and raising means for good causes."

Mr. Phillip J. Noel Baker, M.P., speaking in more political terms observed: "I find *New Times and Ethiopia News* not only useful, but indispensable for my work. I advise you to buy it and distribute it, bombard the editors of the country with it, insisting that Abyssinia is not conquered."

It was a great day for Sylvia when Mussolini declared war on Britain and France in June, 1940. The liberation of Ethiopia and the downfall of Fascism, she knew, had become a stage nearer.

Another notable gathering she organised took place at the Institute of Archaeology on March 5, 1942, soon after the liberation of Ethiopia. On that occasion she took the chair for the United States Ambassador, John G. Winant, the U.S.S.R. Ambassador, Jean Maisky, and many old friends of Ethiopia, including Lord Wedgwood, Lord Davies, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., and Mr. G. le M. Mander, M.P.

Just over a month later occurred the most sad death of Princess Tsahai which took place on August 17, 1941.

"The loss of the young Princess Tsahai of Ethiopia," wrote Sylvia, "is a heavy blow to her family, and an immense loss to her country."

In an attempt to continue Princess Tsahai's noble work she founded the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital Council, the news of which appeared in *New Times and Ethiopia News* on October 3—the delay was intentional as she wished to give time to others to undertake the task if they were forthcoming.

The Council had Their Imperial Majesties and H.I.H. Princess Tenagene Work as Patrons, and Baron Davies of Llandinam as Chairman. The Vice-Presidents, whose number increased greatly as the months went on, included Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Lorna Wingate, the Right Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, Dr. Somerville Hastings, Professor A. Berriedale Keith, Professor Sydney Chapman, Professor Eldon Herbert Roaf, Principal John Murray and Professor F. E. Weiss. The Honorary Treasurer was Miss Isabel Fry, and Honorary Secretary was of course, Sylvia.

For the next fifteen years she remained in England she was most active in the hospital's interest, holding talks, broadcasts and film shows, bazaars and fêtes.



At a Garden Party she had organised at Bedford College, London, to raise funds for the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital in Addis Ababa. Note: the late Peter Freeman, M.P. on Sylvia's right; on her left (left to right): Ato Berhanu Tessema, Mrs. I. E. Tims, and Princess Rosalie Vlazemsky



Visiting Debra Liban with Amha Aberra Kassa, a former student in England

receptions and exhibitions, concerts and recitals, flag days, self-denial weeks, and door-to-door collections, arranging for Westminster Abbey and other services, and the sale of memorial stamps, attending committees of the Hospital Council (which met in the House of Lords), and writing letters to the press and to persons from whom charity was solicited. The hospital appealed systematically, with the aid of published directories as well as by personal introduction, to almost every section of British life, to churches and free churches, to leaders of industry, to universities and colleges, to the medical and nursing professions, to Red Cross societies, to the teaching world, to trade unions and co-operative societies, to the stage and screen, special appeals being signed by well-known personalities in each walk of life. The thousands of donors ranged from Queen Elizabeth to the poorest old-age pensioner.



Receiving an address of welcome from the Eritrean Unionist Movement. Note the then Ato Tedla Bairn (standing)

Donations were also received from the British Commonwealth, the United States and many other foreign lands. In the first dozen years of the appeal just under 400,000 Ethiopian dollars were collected in England alone.

Throughout the years which followed *New Times and Ethiopia News* continued to champion the Ethiopian cause week by week. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., described it in the House of Commons on March 15, 1944, as a "very useful watchdog in the interests of Ethiopia." Though its editor wrote much of it herself, either in the form of signed or unsigned articles and reviews, many new names appeared in its columns as so many of the old stalwarts passed away. Articles were now written by Lord Davies, a staunch friend of Ethiopia, Peter Abrahams, the well-known South African writer, Leslie W. Carruthers, a specialist in international affairs, A. Artan, a Somali, Morris Mattavous, a prominent Afro-American clergyman, D. Dem. Dimancescu, a former Rumanian diplomat, Miss M. E. Durham, an old English lady with a long knowledge in Eastern European affairs, and Lawrence A. Fabumni, a Nigerian student in London. A number of Ethiopian students then in England were frequent con-



Sylvia reporting for "Ethiopia Observer." Photo taken shortly before her death

tributors; the most prolific perhaps were Endalkatchew Makonnen and Mikael Imru, but mention must also be made of Amha A. Kassa, Negussi Gizaw, Hapteab Bairou and Zawdie Haile Mariam. Afework Tekle contributed illustrations and Mengestu Lemma poetry. Two other Ethiopian writers who contributed many articles were Woizero Righbit Serae, from Italy, and Alazar Tesfa Mikael, from Eritrea. Interesting articles also appeared from the pens of Imabet Sophie Desta, on Ethiopian handicrafts, from the Chinese statistician, K. C. Wang, on Ethiopian economic life, Mbiyu Koinange and Achiang Oneko on land hunger among the Kikuyu, and from Walter Audisio on how he killed Mussolini. Her son, Richard Pankhurst, was another very frequent contributor from 1946 till the final issue.

At the end of her tenth year of publication—there were still another ten to go—she printed some of the



At one of the Emperor Haile Selassie's more recent tours of inspection

congratulations she had received. Major Arthur Henderson, M.P., spoke of the "zeal and devotion" she had displayed "in both difficult and hard times," while Mr. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., observed: "It has been a valiant venture. It is heartening to know of these who so disinterestedly served a difficult cause."

For her own part, however, she was looking not at the past, but to the present and the future, for she was then heart and soul involved in the struggle for the reunion of Eritrea to Ethiopia, the history of which she wrote with her son in the book, *Ethiopia and Eritrea*.

Articles in support of the reunionist cause appeared in the *New Times* and *Ethiopia News* regularly from the moment of Ethiopia's liberation till the day of the final United Nations decision. As early as July 23, 1942, she organised a conference at the Cowdray Hall, London, at which the case was presented to a very distinguished audience, presided over by Lord Davies, including foreign diplomats, delegates from branches of the League of Nations Union, Federal Union, New Commonwealth, Labour Parties, the Liberal Association, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Zionist Organisation, the Federation of Zionist Youth, the International Labour Office, the Friends' Ambulance Unit, the School of Oriental Studies and the League of Coloured Peoples. Messages of support were received from Professor Berriedale Keith and other influential personalities, including Members of Parliament.

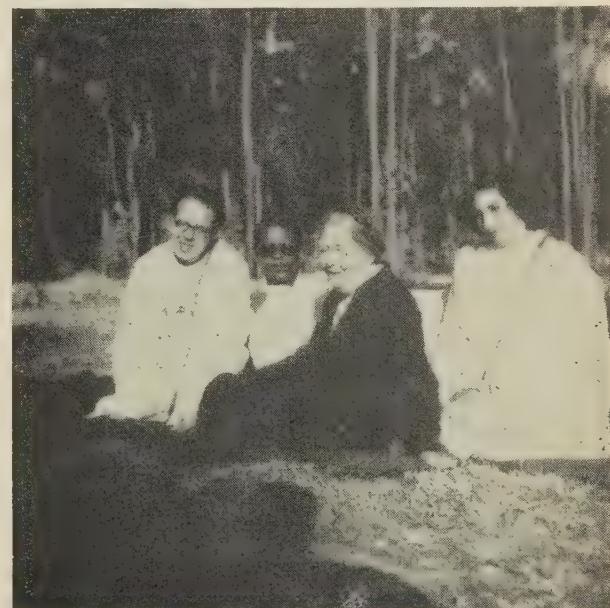
A visit to Eritrea itself followed in November, 1944. Sylvia met many of the Eritrean unionists, whose move-



At the entrance to her Addis Ababa home, with her family and young friends; left to right: Menghestu Lemma, Immabet Ruth, Immabet Syble

ment was still more or less underground; her talks with them as well as a public utterance at the end of an official lecture created something of a sensation which was noted with great interest in a British intelligence report of the time. The unionists presented her with an address of welcome which declared: "Sword of the Press! We have read your paper, that Sword of the Press, with which you fight for our country, Hamasien, and our Motherland, Eritrea."

On returning to Britain she organised another conference, at the Alliance Hall, on April 20, 1945, which



A homely scene in the garden of her Addis Ababa home

was presided over by the venerable J. H. Palmer, a Liberal of Fulham. The speakers included Señor Dr. Don Rosenweig Diaz, the Mexican Ambassador, who had defended the cause of Ethiopia at the League of Nations a decade earlier, Valentine McEntee, M.P., another of the older friends of Ethiopia, and the Kenya African leader, Jomo Kenyatta, who moved the reunionist resolution.

Sylvia, who lobbied the Paris Peace Conference of 1946 for the reunionist cause, continued to organise many more meetings and conferences. In the spring of that year she held a conference at the Livingstone Hall at which her fellow speakers included Miss Isabel Fry, the well-known Quaker, and Peter Abrahams, the South African journalist. A message was read from the Italian pianist, Francesco Ticiati, who declared that true to the traditions of Giuseppe Mazzini and Carlo Rosselli he gave full support to the aspirations of the Ethiopian people. Other important conferences were held at the Caxton Hall on May 6, 1947, and in the House of Commons on April 4, 1950, at which Amha A. Kassa, then a student, declared: "We remember the support of the British public. . . . The names of Churchill, Wingate and Pankhurst are carved in the streets of our capital."

Sylvia wrote scores of letters during these years to *The Times* and other newspapers, often getting other well-known personalities to join her as co-signatories. Her name is thus to be found besides those of Lady Pethick Lawrence, Lady Dorothea Layton, Princess Rosalie Viazemsky, the Dean of Gloucester, the Rev.

H. Costley White, the Dean of Winchester, Dr. E. G. Selwyn, the veteran Free Church leader, the Rev. Dr. J. Scott Widgett, Canon John A. Douglas, Professor G. D. H. Cole, Professor F. E. Weiss, Professor H. E. Roaf, Professor G. Catlin, Mr. H. D. Harben, J.P., and at least a dozen Members of Parliament. She had much support throughout this time in the House of Commons, notably in the early days from Mr. S. Tifany and Mr. Fred Longden, as well as from Mr. Peter Freeman who served as Chairman of her International Ethiopian Council for Study and Report, and Mr. Stanley Awbery, M.P.

By no means interested in Ethiopia alone she spoke at many meetings on African affairs, notably at a Trafalgar Square protest meeting against the exile of Seretse Kham'a when her speech was widely reported.

She went to live in Ethiopia in the summer of 1956 and for the next 4 years edited *Ethiopia Observer*. Her activities were by no means confined to editing this journal. Now that she lived within a stone's throw of the hospital she worked so hard to found, her interest and support for it continued. The more actively she collaborated with the doctors in their efforts to improve nursing standards and did all she could for the welfare of patients and staff.

Ever anxious for individual social action she suggested the foundation of the Social Service Society of Addis Ababa and was elected its vice-president this year.

I was particularly privileged in being able to maintain a steady contact with the brave patriots inside Ethiopia,

## How she saw Ethiopia 15 years ago

### A BROADCAST FROM ADDIS ABABA

Thursday, January 18, 1945

This Address was also Broadcast in Amharic

Ethiopian Friends,

I want first to offer my grateful thanks for the kind welcome extended to me by you all.

The generous appreciation showered upon me could not have been earned had I worked the whole of many long lives to aid you !

It has been indeed a great experience, and a joy deeper than words can express to come to you here upon whom my thoughts have been set since the notorious incident at Walwal. That incident revealed the hideous intention of Fascist Italy to invade your ancient land, to conquer her peaceful people, and to wipe out from among the nations of the Earth even the very name of valiant Ethiopia, which has stood throughout recorded time.

It was then already evident that Italy was obstinately determined to pursue to the bitter end the conquest of Ethiopia, thereby violating the Covenant of the League of Nations, which embodied the hopes of the majority of people, young and old, in the entire family of nations—for none had escaped some form of suffering in the first World War. No plea, no concession, however great, however little justified, availed to dissuade the Italians from their cruel purpose. It was evident that unless the

aggressors were checked, and that decisively, new wars would be launched upon the world. The fruit of that crisis we have seen, but not, alas, the end.

Through the long months of suspense and negotiations, vain, utterly vain, because there was no sincerity on the Italian side, during the terrible war which followed with the outrage of poison gas and the bombing and burning of totally defenceless people, there stood forth the lofty and noble purpose, the completely just and peaceful policy of the Emperor Haile Selassie and his Government, evoking the ardent admiration and gratitude of millions in every country in the world. When the heart fell and the brain almost reeled before the spectacle of aggressive wrong triumphing by the chicanery and feebleness of statesmen, His Majesty's voice of single-minded goodness, his courage, and that of your old nation maintained in many of us far away from you our faith in human nature, and our resolve to persevere.

### Never was Greater Vindication

Our hearts were moved by the motherly appeal of the Empress Menen, and the poignant protest of the brave young Princess Tsahai. The Imperial Family and their compatriots who came to us in their proud sorrow, were greatly beloved and respected in my country. We dearly cherished our opportunity to know them, and if we could, to help their cause.

who held her flag high and maintained their struggle against the enemies of their own dear land, and of human justice and righteousness in every form. I was happy to publish news of those doughty warriors in Britain and her Empire, Europe, America, and many countries in the East, by means of what was sometimes considered a very importunate organ, *New Times and Ethiopia News*. I can but repeat it was a privilege to do this, and my only regret can ever be that the voice of truth and justice was not still more widely and loudly heard.

When the World War, by the momentum of the unchecked aggressions, which had gathered with terrible impetus in the intervening years, broke upon us all, we realised that the misery of defenceless peoples in Ethiopia, in China, in Europe, was about to be avenged. The statesmen of the stronger nations had failed to save the weaker, and now a tragic expiation was drawing nigh.

When the infamous Mussolini joined his evil confederate in the World War, which they had jointly planned, we saw the star of Ethiopian independence rise again.

No joy could be greater than that which lit for many of us the day when His Imperial Majesty returned to this City of Addis Ababa, in company with his patriots, and the late General Orde Charles Wingate, a hero dearly remembered in your country, and in mine.

Never was greater vindication of a just cause of the strong faith which endures when all has seemed to fail, than the return of the Emperor and his patriots.

### The Land of an Industrious People

It was a long journey here to Ethiopia by slow sea convoy from Liverpool. How glad I was to reach the final stage!

Looking down from the 'plane I could see that I was over the land of an industrious people; everywhere the little farmsteads nestling in the midst of their well-tilled fields. I could discern extensive areas under cereals. I have since learned that the U.K.C.C. has purchased 60,000 tons of cereals from Ethiopia this year, and that in response to the appeals issued to the peasants of Ethiopia to grow more grain for the United Nations they have produced an export surplus of double that amount. I want my compatriots at home, and others who do not know these hard-working peasants, to realise that cultivation in your vast fields of Ethiopia is carried out by the labour of man with ox and plough—not by mechanical power.

### A Warm Welcome

I was delighted by the view of Addis Ababa which met my eyes as the 'plane circled towards the ground. I recognised the great Mausoleum of Menelik II, the Palace of the Emperor Haile Selassie and other familiar landmarks.

A very warm welcome greeted me when I set foot on earth: Ethiopian friends, whom I had known in their grief and fortitude during the sad years of exile, now grasped me cheerfully by the hand. Among them were many other friends whom I knew by correspondence, and had seen in photographs: members of the Ethiopian Women's Association, the Patriots' Association, the Society for the Liberation of Hamasien. Here they

were, relieved from the agony of exile and enemy oppression, at home again in their own free country!

For some days I felt myself in a waking dream; people and places, familiar to me in prints and photographs, were now actually before me, in all their vivid life and colour, fitted together like the pieces of a gigantic mosaic, which formerly had been dispersed.

What a magnificent spectacle it is: the grand and lovely country, the glorious sunshine, the wealth of flowers, the peoples in their varied occupations, an ever-moving blend of old and new.

Next, I had the happiness of being received by Their Imperial Majesties with the kindest of greetings, and was rejoiced to see the heavy sorrow of the past war lifted from them. Though many anxieties, many obstacles still face them in their life's mission—for them, and for their people, the way of freedom lies open again.

I have been busy here, studying and learning. I have travelled through the wonderful mountains and the wide plains of deep rich soil which everywhere responds to the industrious cultivators. I have been charmed by the plenitude of graceful trees, above all the lovely and swift-growing eucalyptus; that priceless gift of the great Emperor Menelik II, who conferred upon his people so many beneficent innovations.

In the setting of this splendid country, enjoying a climate which is always summer, escaping for once, an exceedingly cold winter at home, I have been enthralled by the people; the hardy peasants, back-bone of the nation in their fine old traditional dress with the white shamma and the riding breeches—one of the finest in the world—working in the fields, or coming into town beside their sure-footed mules; the women also in their graceful dress, baking the Ethiopian injeras, the soft pancake bread, which is very good to taste as well as wholesome, or in their black cloaks, riding so gracefully; parents following the old, old ways, sons and daughters ever so modern; chiefs on their horses caparisoned in many colours; and side by side with these, the modern motor car, brilliantly polished, repainted and reconditioned at one of the busy garages; the straight, slim, disciplined police in khaki with green beret, directing the traffic; the soldiers marching with patriotic zeal.

I have seen the eager workers in the factories, learning with avidity industrial processes new to them. The boys and girls in the schools, ardently enjoying their studies, striving with utmost earnestness to equip themselves to serve their country, displaying a quickness of memory, and a rapidity of comprehension, which astonishes their teachers.

### Emperor and Empress with the Children

On Ethiopian Christmas morning it was a pleasure to see more than 3,000 schoolchildren assembled in the Palace grounds to sing carols to Their Imperial Majesties, and then to watch them file through the Palace, to receive each a Christmas gift from those Royal friends who are so deeply solicitous for the welfare of Ethiopian youth. I was impressed by the erect, healthy little figures in their clean uniforms, marching behind their school banners. But one class was comprised of crippled and wounded children, victims of Italian ferocity whose scars attest the wickedness of Fascism.

That afternoon, also in the Palace, a Nativity Play was presented by the pupils of the Empress Menen's School for Girls.

Inaugurated by Her Imperial Majesty in the progressive time before the Italian invasion, the school was closed for five years by the infamous Fascist occupation. Reopened on Her Majesty's return it now proceeds with its good work, in its former spacious, well situated building, which many of the schools in my own country would be but too glad to occupy.

I have been greatly impressed by the excellent premises with which the schools in the capital are provided.

The play was admirably staged and acted and the carols were sung in excellent time and tune. At the close, I was delighted to see and hear Imahoy Laki Yedela, a notable Ethiopian woman pioneer and a teacher at the Menen school, recite a poem in Geez, the Latin of Ethiopia, which she had composed in honour of His Imperial Majesty for the occasion.

### Great Work in the Schools

Visiting the schools, I have seen the boys and girls learning English with amazing rapidity; after a few months' tuition they take dictation from English books, and make surprisingly few mistakes in our very difficult spelling. One finds them standing up in class to read aloud from an English book, and then immediately translating into Amharic the sentences they have read. Their writing of our script is generally at least as good as that of English children of the same age, though the characters are entirely new to them, and totally different from their own.

Their aptitude for mathematics is also remarkable, and I greatly like the way in which they go to the blackboard, without shyness or self-consciousness, and work their sums before the class, explaining aloud what they are doing.

A splendid institution—which I greatly admire—is the weekly visit of all the schoolchildren and students of Addis Ababa to the warm sulphur baths, at Felwoha, on the outskirts of the city. These are entirely free to them, and are a great asset in modern Ethiopia's quest for a higher standard of health and hygiene. I saw groups of merry children vastly enjoying themselves when I visited these splendidly-equipped baths, and the large public laundry adjoining, where 500 persons at a time can wash their clothes in the purifying hot water. The bath buildings were getting at the time a new coat of paint, like many others in Addis Ababa — indeed, much of Ethiopia is undergoing what we in Britain called a spring-clean, to remove the dirt, the disorder, and even more tragic evils which have resulted from war, enemy occupation, and war again.

### Child Victims Saved

Among the most touching and precious institutions of Ethiopia is the home for War Orphans, maintained by the Ethiopian Women's Association and inaugurated by Her Imperial Majesty, and her daughter, the late beloved and deeply mourned Princess Tsahai. A number of little girls and boys are there tenderly cared for. Another sad yet hopeful institution, is St. Paul's School at Akaki, where young boys who were cruelly wounded

and mutilated by the Italians are being educated at Her Imperial Majesty's expense in very fine buildings surrounded by peaceful woods, which she has given to them. The Gabre Mariam School, for children whose fathers died fighting for Ethiopia, also makes a strong appeal to every just mind and feeling heart.

The restored Ethiopian Government, taking up its duties in 1942, under what might have appeared insuperable difficulties, was faced by a sad and serious problem: the presence in Addis Ababa and other towns, of numbers of sick and homeless boys, some of them quite little fellows under eight years of age, who had been carried from their distant village homes by the Italians, or had tramped into town, in the hope of finding some assistance, when their homes were laid waste and their parents killed. I have seen many of these unfortunate children, collected by your Kantiba and others, who have been restored to health and happiness. Some of them I saw at the Mutual Assistance Labour Camp, under the auspices of the Department of Labour, some at the great farm of the Ministry of Agriculture at Bishoftu, others at the Correction School, the Technical School and the headquarters of the Ethiopian Army, where hundreds of eager youngsters are receiving an elementary education in Amharic and English, as well as qualifying to be mechanics, signalmen, morse and radio operators, and working exceedingly well in every branch. Alas! Despite all these, and other efforts, the sad harvest of the enemy invasion in destitute children, pleading for food, shelter and education, is not yet liquidated.

People speak of the roads the Italians built here as a great gain, but our human brothers and sisters and their children are infinitely more precious than such works, which, after all, soon disappear into the wild, unless there is human labour to maintain them.

### Italian Evidence of Italian Crime

I long had pity for the Italian people, because they had fallen under Fascist domination, even those of them who had helped to bring it about by their own folly. I aided many Italian refugees from Mussolini's power. I am disappointed that I have heard from Italy no honest voice of contrition for the hideous crimes the Italians committed her. Of those crimes they have themselves provided irrefutable evidence, in the photographs which they took of each other engaged in the martyrdom of their victims. A callous Italian murderer, triumphantly brandishing the severed head of an Ethiopian hero, whilst a fellow Italian rolls from a basket a number of similar awful trophies; a group of Italian scoundrels surveying the mutilated bodies of the patriots they had hacked and decapitated; a little company of sad-faced Ethiopians, gazing with mournful pity on the last agony of a tortured comrade, waiting, in stoic resignation, their turn for the ordeal at the feet of the armed Italian torturers—these are typical of the numerous appalling records which the bearers of Roman civilisation have left behind, as grim testimony to the quality of their rule. One devilish creature, photographed by a colleague, reaches up a struggling child to the gallows. Of such photographs the bearers of Roman civilisation made no concealment. A set of them, retained by an Ethiopian here, was sent to me shortly after my arrival

There is a formidable collection of them, which should be placed before the Allied Governments when Italy comes to plead for consideration at the close of the war.

### The Grief of the Somali People

This brings me to a question I feel profoundly. I earnestly hope and I promise you to work, that the Peace Conference shall restore to Ethiopia the forlorn territories, now termed Eritrea and Somalia, which Italy annexed some 50 years ago, and which, before Fascism, as well as during Fascism, were used as bases of aggression and attempted conquest.

I trust, too, that before long Ethiopia will regain the frontiers she had in 1936 before Italy invaded her. I have witnessed the grief of the Somali people of the Ogaden that their reunion to Ethiopia has again been postponed. They have my warm sympathy. I trust they will soon be relieved of military rule and permitted to return to their own civil government under the Ethiopian flag; as they desire. We British, you know, have never been willing to tolerate military administration for ourselves.

I have talked with the administrators here, and have learnt a good deal of the achievements and obstacles of the past very difficult years.

I am profoundly impressed by the manifold activities they are directing. Probably with the exception of His Imperial Majesty, his devoted Private Secretary, his keen and zealous Minister of the Pen, and our esteemed friend, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, few people, even in Ethiopia, can gauge the really remarkable progress which has been affected in the short space of three years. My own compatriots, who are engaged here in their special branch of work, and are experiencing just a few of the difficulties inevitable to an administration which took office after five years of exile with an empty exchequer, in most cases have neither time, nor opportunity to investigate even a tithe of the work being done to rebuild, to improve, to extend. Certainly little of this is even imagined in Britain.

### Agricultural Development

The enterprising Minister of Agriculture, Ato Makonen Hapte Wold, gave several hours of his precious time to take me around the splendid government farm at Bishoftu, which was a great achievement before the Italian invasion. This farm was abandoned and laid waste by the reckless conquerors; it has now been admirably resurrected, cattle and pigs flourish there. I saw wide crops of cereals, tobacco, cotton. Ethiopia imports large quantities of cotton sheeting, and pays for it very heavily. She desires to replace all this import by home grown cotton, spun and woven within her borders. I have no doubt she will succeed in the near future.

I have also visited the government farm at Holletta, which is entirely worked by machinery—a forerunner of an agricultural development which is bound to come, and will increase your prosperity and the usefulness of your old land to the neighbouring peoples of the Middle East, not all of whom share the advantage you possess in your vast areas of rich well-watered soil.

One cannot visit Ethiopia without gaining an increasing respect for her peasants. They are accustomed to co-operate loyally with each other in building their homes and in harvesting their crops. The co-operative mutual assistance, which has shops and a hospital and clinic in Addis Ababa, will, I doubt not, build up among the peasants such beneficent co-operative institutions for purchasing and transport as those by which the intelligent Scandinavians raised themselves to a high degree of prosperity and culture—co-operative institutions which were steadily growing throughout Europe till the evil aggression of Fascism destroyed them.

### A Patriotic Land Act

In considering agriculture one should never lose sight of land tenure and land taxation. I have been glad to observe that your Ethiopian Parliament has recently passed an exceedingly progressive land law. Mr. Lloyd George, when British Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the first decade of the present century, attempted a measure of the sort for my country, but vested interests were too strong to allow it to reach the Statute Book. This new Ethiopian law is framed, very efficiently, to bring unused land into cultivation, thereby increasing the prosperity of the country, and appeasing the land hunger of the peasant. Under this new law, land, whether used or unused, is assessed on the basis of its potential value and taxed accordingly. Consequently land-owners will no longer be either able or willing to keep fertile land idle and unproductive; they will cultivate or sell. If any attempt to evade the tax they will find themselves confronted with serious penalties, and the sale of their land by public auction would be the ultimate result of an obstinate refusal to obey the law. This is a truly courageous and patriotic measure, for which many western reformers have worked, thus far, in vain.

I heartily congratulate the Ethiopian Parliament on its wisdom in adopting it and would commend this shining example of progressive patriotism to my own and other European countries. Henry Georgites in Britain and the United States will rejoice to hear of it.

I have been much impressed by the work of the Ethiopian Ministry of land where an excellent system of land registration is in operation. The register contains a plan of the land, with exact measurements, the name of the owner or owners the names of the owners of adjoining properties and all relevant particulars. This is duly stamped and signed by the government official concerned, a copy including the plan, being provided for the landowner. I saw an office full of busy Ethiopian draftsmen engaged on the plans and a quantity of surveyors' equipment for work on the sites.

### Industrial Progress

Ethiopia is steadily progressing as a manufacturing country. On the way to Bishoftu I was impressed by the array of tractors, abandoned by the destructive Fascists in the condition of scrap, which Ethiopian industry has restored to working order, as part of the national Lend-Lease contribution to the United Nations. These tractors are too heavy, I was told, for service in Ethiopia, but can be put to good use elsewhere.

The tobacco factory, under the management of a Greek friend of this country, has gradually eliminated almost all save Ethiopian personnel, and will shortly employ Ethiopians only. It supplies already half the Ethiopian tobacco consumption, and only awaits an extended crop to supply the whole market.

I notice that where the management is resolved that Ethiopian workers shall be given adequate and fair opportunities of learning, they rapidly became expert.

At the Empress Menen Handicraft School, I was delighted by the beautiful rugs and carpets, which women are executing there, with remarkable speed and skill. Numerous sorts of very fine homespun woollen and cotton cloth are also produced there, and a large variety of machine-knitted cotton and woollen garments, which are acceptable, in view of the high cost and scarcity of imported goods.

The Cotton Factory of Dire Dawa, under the management of a Manchester textile expert, is supplying, at the controlled price, cotton sheeting of better quality than can be imported. This factory employs a number of Somali women.

The Cement Factory, also at Dire Dawa, is producing bags of cement, as well as bricks and tiles. I was particularly interested to see Ethiopians in the laboratory working successfully with the fine gauges.

Ethiopian radio operators, printers, masons, mechanics, furniture makers, tanners, shoemakers, and other industrial workers are indeed a growing host.

The paucity of communications is a serious handicap to development. There is great work to be done in restoring the telegraph and telephone installations, which, when the Ethiopian Government took over from the British Command, were reduced to a condition much inferior to that which existed before the Italian invasion. The big Radio Station erected by the Emperor before the invasion was wrecked by the Italians before they left.

The lack of the necessary communications services, the shortage of railway rolling-stock, of serviceable motor cars and lorries, and the absence of aeroplanes formerly possessed by the Ethiopian Government are serious obstacles to every branch of the administration, particularly the police. But I was deeply impressed to see the courage and ingenuity with which old cars are being taken from the scrap heap and remade for the road, and to observe that in the foundry and garage managed by the Custodian of Enemy Property spare parts are being made which are now on sale.

#### Princess Tsahai's Ideal

A word now about the health services. More hospitals, ambulance clinics and clinics for preventive medicine are needed throughout the country. There is a shortage of medicines and of hospital equipment, due to war time exigencies, and to straitened revenue. It must be remembered that from the medical stores left in Ethiopia by the Italians, a quantity valued at £7,000,000 was removed for the British war effort, along with a total booty worth more than £70,000,000. The present grave stranglehold upon imports and exports will end with the war, we may hope; but Ethiopia's urgent need, for doctors, surgeons and trained nurses will not even then

be met. Europe will never be able to supply them in adequate numbers. Until Ethiopians are trained for such work there will always be a grievous shortage.

Princess Tsahai had her country's need in this respect most deeply at heart. She trained and worked in British hospitals during the whole of her five years' exile in order that she might qualify to introduce a sound hospital training for her young compatriots here in Ethiopia, when, as she never doubted, the liberty of her country would be restored. She was called from the great work she had initiated within a year of her return. It is for all of us who loved and admired her to strive that her ideal shall be realised.

#### The Memorial Hospital

His Imperial Majesty has provided the building which will be the nucleus of the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital, situated on a magnificent and ample site, with three good modern houses to accommodate the doctors and nurses who will staff the hospital.

It was to establish closer relations between the Ethiopian Committee for the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital, and the British Committee, of which I am the Honorary Secretary, that I came here to visit you. I was instructed by my Committee to view the building, and to learn what is required to forward our objective.

The hospital building must be completed, equipped and staffed. £50,000 has been raised by the gift of His Imperial Majesty, and by donors in Ethiopia, Britain and elsewhere. I have just learnt that £1,000 has been sent from the Island of Trinidad, contributed in the main by very poor people, who have made each quite a big sacrifice to send their share to build the hospital.

In Britain also many poor people, many little children, have spared a gift from slender means. The leaders of our churches, universities and schools, of the medical and nursing professions and people of every class and calling have supported this tribute of friendship.

Let us work together in good earnest to raise the £50,000 already collected to £100,000; and thereafter to establish an endowment fund. Already some generous British friends have convenanted to give an annual donation for seven years; that is a good plan.

Let us resolve to make the Memorial Hospital a fully efficient training school, which will send out a never-failing stream of able Ethiopian workers to staff the hospitals and clinics of this old country. It will require devotion and sacrifice by us all, to raise the means and to maintain the work. For a cause so precious I know devotion and sacrifice will readily be given. I promise to do my best; I am confident of you.

Inspired by the noble initiative of your dear Princess, let us keep her memory green by a fruitful and enduring memorial, which will embody her desire.

In thanking you, once again, for the kindness you one and all have lavished on me I wish you with all my heart the best that you can desire, increasing prosperity and happiness, continued security and freedom.

**A happy new year to you! I pray it may bring Peace. Long live the Emperor Haile Sellassie I and the Empress Menen!**

**May the freedom of Ethiopia endure forever!**

# Her Life in Ethiopia

Much has been written about the causes which Sylvia Pankhurst supported, the newspapers she edited, the books she wrote. Much could equally be said about her extraordinary personality.

A quality which may perhaps be considered essential to her character was her single-mindedness. She was far removed from those fanatics who espouse a cause to the extent that it becomes their life; when the battle is over, whether it is lost or won, their activity ceases and they fade away. She fought many battles in her life, not only successively but often simultaneously. It was not that all her attention was focused on one problem, but that, faced with any problem, great or small, she did not rest till its solution had been arrived at.

Indeed the conception "rest" was alien to her. There was not in her life the same proportion as in other people's between work and recreation. Her life was her work and her work her life. In Addis Ababa and no doubt in England, morning, noon and night, Monday, Saturday, Sunday, January to December, year in, year out, she was wedded to her pen if not to the pursuit of her many philanthropic enterprises. Rarely could she be persuaded to leave her desk for more than



Her last home in Addis Ababa, amid the eucalyptus trees she loved so much

an hour or so unless it were in connection with some *Ethiopia Observer* article or for some other specific humanitarian purpose.

She was totally indifferent to personal comfort, caring about clothes or food only if the cold or an unsuitable diet interfered with her precious working day. Her only luxury was the purchase of fountain pens which she wore out almost as though they were pencils. Looking at her general frailty and ill-health—to a great extent the result of the privations of her many hunger-strikes (at an age when she must still have been growing)—her endurance was scarcely credible. Only a few years ago she wished to visit a new community training centre at Majitte in the North of Ethiopia. As the journey involved an eight-hour drive by Landrover, including 11 kilometres of poor track from the main road to the centre, followed by the return journey the next day, an attempt was made to dissuade her. "Have I come to the end of my active life?" she countered, and would hear no more of such counsels. She went with a group of young Ethiopians and returned with them without allowing a trace of weariness to appear on her features.

Her attitude to a problem was remarkable not only for her singleness of purpose in solving it; her approach was in keeping. She had no time to waste with generalities and vague conversations. Wishing to visit the Ogaden to see the new developments in that province she rang up the governor whom she did not know. "I am Miss Pankhurst. I want to see the Ogaden again. Tell me what there is new to see there." Such were the opening sentences.

Often when discussions would arise about improvements in education or health or any other field of Ethiopian enterprise she would bring the conversation to a practical level. What interested her was what could be done rather than what could be talked about. When she visited the Coffee Board she discovered that mats



After her departure for Ethiopia: her house in Woodford Green, Essex

were needed on which the coffee could dry without taking on the smell from the mat. She seized on this problem and tried to arrange for bamboo to be collected and mats to be made by the inmates of the Kolp Rehabilitation Centre in time for the next coffee harvest.

Unlike other great figures who were able to influence the course of history, Sylvia Pankhurst had at the same time an ability to take an interest in the woes and sorrows of the single, unknown, unimportant individual. Having heard the surgeon at the Princess Tsahai Hospital say that some cripples could, by some minor operation, be restored the use of their legs, she saw a crippled destitute child in the street, promptly stopped the car, persuaded the child to come to hospital and took it there herself. The boy can now walk.

Apart from her devotion to duty and her kindness the artist in her added, as it were, another dimension. She was intensely aware of beauty in all its forms. Her love of the eucalyptus tree is recorded in one of the last poems she left posterity. She loved equally that other landmark of Ethiopia's countryside and the herald of its spring, the maskal daisy. She loved it more than any cultivated flower in her garden and often regretted that too few grew inside her fence. She would never agree to a solid wall around the garden lest it should separate her from her beloved eucalyptus trees and the flowers of the open woods. On the rare occasions when she would allow herself to be driven into the Ethiopian countryside she would sit silently looking at the spacious valleys and mountains and lakes, deeply aware of their poetry.

Perhaps it was also her artist's training that contributed to her phenomenal memory, though this was by no

## Her Last Months

Though this may not be the time to expound Sylvia Pankhurst's ideas in general, readers may be interested in some of the projects which were in her mind in the last few weeks of her life.

On her desk a pile of letters were found written to various personalities in England with a view to raising funds for a maternity wing for the Princess Tsahai Memorial Fund. It was her hope that this wing, together with the hospital's maternity school, would be used for the training of midwives, and that a pilot home nursing service by midwives would be started in one part of the town to provide aid with births before serious hospital cases developed.

She was most anxious to enroll the help of schools and other institutions for the establishment of a blood bank ; members of the public would voluntarily give of their blood so that plasma would be available in all hospitals at all times. She was discussing this project with Dr. Ghose of the Princess Tsahai Hospital on the evening before she died, and if she had lived a few hours longer would have been talking about the matter with Mr. G. Last, director of Medane Alem School.

Another project in which she was interested, and which she discussed with her family and closest friends in her last few weeks was the establishment of an Orthopaedic Centre for the manufacture of artificial limbs for Ethiopia's cripples. It was her opinion that this work

means only visual. She could seize on the characteristic trait of a personality at first sight, remember some typical phrase and indeed imitate that person with deadly accuracy. This penetration was faultless, so that she would often sum up a stranger with a judgment that was nearly always borne out by closer acquaintance.

Sylvia Pankhurst never admitted that old age could affect her life. She would talk of an "old man of sixty" having "odd ideas—old men do"—because she did not, rightly, consider herself in this category. She was ever resolving to start learning Amharic and was on the point of going camping with her family the weekend before her death.

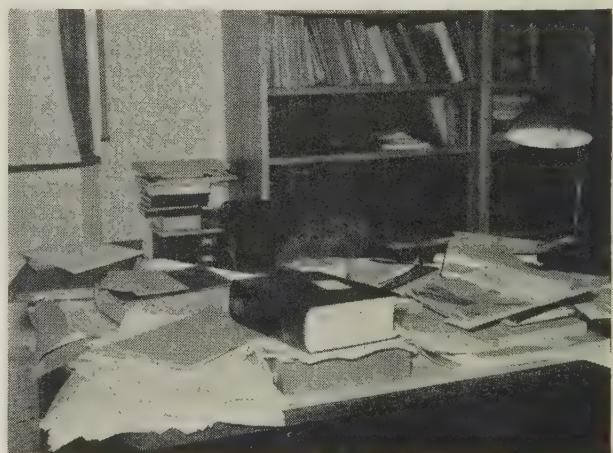
To her beloved son she was a companion and colleague as well as a mother. There was no project involving either or both of them which was not first thrashed out in an atmosphere of complete frankness. The day of making up the paper—a weekly occasion during the life of the *New Times and Ethiopia News*, a monthly one during the four years of the *Ethiopia Observer*—was a joint effort and a highlight of the week or month.

When not vigorously pursuing a cause, she was the greatest of persons, generous, especially to her servants, ready to compromise and to sacrifice herself for others. When she visited the Jimma Agricultural School some three years ago the boys presented her with a little clay tablet whose only legend was the single word, "Others"—a fitting tribute. She talked of her passing without fear or solemnity. Her aim was to devote every moment of her life to a useful purpose and she gave the world a triumphant example of how this aim could be achieved.

## in Addis Ababa

should be largely carried out by cripples who, to judge by experience of other lands, tend to be more conscious of the problems involved than are other persons. She believed this centre might conveniently be situated near

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A literary life comes to an end: her desk at which she will work no more

# Funeral Oration

By H. E. Ras Andargatchew Massai

We pause for a moment to pay our last tribute to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, the last rites of whose funeral we have come to attend on this sad occasion. As we have walked this last mile of the road with her in attempt to pay our respects as relatives and friends, we cannot but recall the life she lived and the blessing that her sojourn here with us has meant to so many.

Who is Miss Sylvia Pankhurst? Even though we know who Miss Pankhurst is, it is necessary on this last moment of parting to say that our knowledge of Miss Pankhurst is of long-standing.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was born in the English city of Manchester on May 5, 1882. She was the daughter of the great suffragette, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. When women were refused the right to vote or to take any part

in politics, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst was a great suffragette doing her best to win these rights for women, and since the spiritual and physical trials she suffered are recorded in history I will not dwell on them now.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, whose last journey we are now attending, is the great lady who, following the steps of her mother, was throughout her life the advocate of all human beings who were refused their rights.

During the Fascist invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, Miss Pankhurst daringly became the friend of Ethiopia whose peoples were struggling against the cruel aggression of Italy. As you all know, when a person or a country is in trouble friends become scarce, but Miss Pankhurst on the contrary came forward as a friend to the suffering and friendless people of Ethiopia during the



Photo, Haile Mezemghe

In death, repose

dark period of the Italian occupation. We have seen and we remember the many friends Ethiopia had during her peaceful times and the very few who remained during her period of misery. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst who, whilst we were at peace, did not know us, and whom we did not know, fearlessly befriended us, though our older friends forsook us.

When I say Miss Pankhurst became our friend, I do not mean just an ordinary friend, but a loyal friend who proved her friendship by her noble deeds for Ethiopia during a span of 25 years. At the time of the Italian aggression against Ethiopia in 1935, when His Imperial Majesty went into exile to appear before the League of Nations, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, a devoted and acknowledged Africanist, started the "New Times and Ethiopia News" weekly newspaper, through which she championed the Ethiopian cause against heavy odds and strong obstacles—something that has endeared her to the heart of every living Ethiopian.

Since the friend of the troubled is looked upon as troublesome, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, because she clearly presented to the world the destruction of Ethiopian churches and their contents, the blood shed of Ethiopian patriots, the death of Ethiopia's prisoners, the difficulties of her exiles and the miseries of her dispersed families, was opposed not only by the wrongdoers but also by some of her fellow-countrymen. To achieve her aim Miss Pankhurst was prepared to face all difficulties, and thus succeeded in revealing to the world the unhappy situation of Ethiopia.

Eventually the great people of Britain, understanding the true cause for which Miss Pankhurst stood, responded to her cry and sent aid to the peoples of Ethiopia. Thus the times of misery made way for the times of peace.

When the struggle for Eritrean independence and federation with the motherland occurred, Miss Pankhurst worked unremittingly until the day when Eritrea rejoined Ethiopia in freedom.

Appreciating Miss Pankhurst's great wish to serve wholeheartedly and to the end of her days the Ethiopian people and government, His Imperial Majesty invited her to Ethiopia five years ago, in order that her wish might be fulfilled. Since her arrival, month by month, she presented to the public the "Ethiopia Observer" journal.

Miss Pankhurst, who had hoped to continue her services to Ethiopia, did not expect to be among us here today. We must remember the fact that she served Ethiopia in the country's darkest hour, not only with all her moral support but also by selling her property to obtain money with which to assist the Ethiopian exiles, so that she became poor. Therefore Ethiopia's friend, the great Englishwomen Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, should be called a true Ethiopian patriot.

Sylvia Pankhurst, the Emperor of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian people, whom you sincerely and honestly served, now stand weeping around you. With those days of suffering in mind your friends the patriots and exiles are standing near you. Your history will live forever written in blood, with the history of the Ethiopian patriots.

Since by His Imperial Majesty's wish you rest in peace in the earth of Ethiopia, we consider you an Ethiopian.

May God, who has surely witnessed your noble deeds on earth, keep you in a place of honour.

### Her Last Months in Addis Ababa

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the Princess Tsahaj Memorial Hospital where the surgeon, Mr. Barry, had already made several artificial limbs for persons at the Kolfé Rehabilitation Centre.

The Rotary Club has recently voted the necessary funds for this scheme, and Miss Pankhurst was due to address them in the very near future.

As one of the founders of the Social Service Society, Miss Pankhurst took great interest in that centre and almost certainly was its most frequent visitor. She felt that there was a great need for members of the Ethiopian public to take increasing interest in this institution, and also for a scheme for visiting prisons and other institutions such as the Emmanuel Mental Home.

She hoped that a full training scheme for these people could be established, together with an employment bureau to find jobs for the unemployed in connection with this project, as well as for the public in general. She was much concerned with labour conditions in Eritrea, as well as in other parts of the Federation she had worked so hard to achieve, especially in foreign concerns employing relatively large numbers of people.

She hoped for donations of land from Addis Ababa citizens for a chain of children's playgrounds, a project very dear to her heart.

In the last week she was discussing the possibility of organizing an Ethiopian women's seminar to interest the women of Ethiopia in the problems of their sex as a preparation for the International Women's Seminar which was to be held in Addis Ababa in December. She was of the opinion that the British Council's book boxes would be useful for study purposes in this respect, and that such a seminar could conduct a critical study of the new Ethiopian Civil Code, which she was reviewing in her journal, the "Ethiopia Observer," on the very eve of her death.

Her interest was by no means confined to Ethiopia. Whenever Africans from other parts of the continent visited this country, she opened her house to them; Tom Mboya was as welcome to her home in Ethiopia as Jomo Kenyatta had been in her home in England a quarter of a century earlier. It was not without significance that when, after 20 years of publishing her newspaper "New Times and Ethiopia News," which first appeared in London the day the Italian armies marched into Addis Ababa, she chose as the title of her last journal "Ethiopia Observer," a name which had been suggested to her by her old Kenya African friend Mbiyu Koinange. In her last weeks she was wondering whether a reception committee should not be formed which would put Africans from other parts of the continent newly arrived here in touch with hospitable Ethiopians to supplement official hospitality in an informal way.

# Words of Appreciation

## FROM PEOPLE WHO KNEW HER OVER MANY YEARS From her comrades in the Suffragette Movement

From **LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE OF PEASLAKE**, sometimes editor of "Votes for Women,"

Secretary of State for India at the time of that country's independence, etc., etc.:

"For a warrior, as she was, it is happiest when the end comes in the thick of the battle for life . . .

"I send my deep sympathy, not untinged by a sense of triumph for a great and courageous life spent in the service of her fellow beings and now nobly brought to its ineluctable conclusion."

From **CHARLOTTE A. L. MARSH**, who was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and was forcibly fed, for suffragette agitation in 1909:

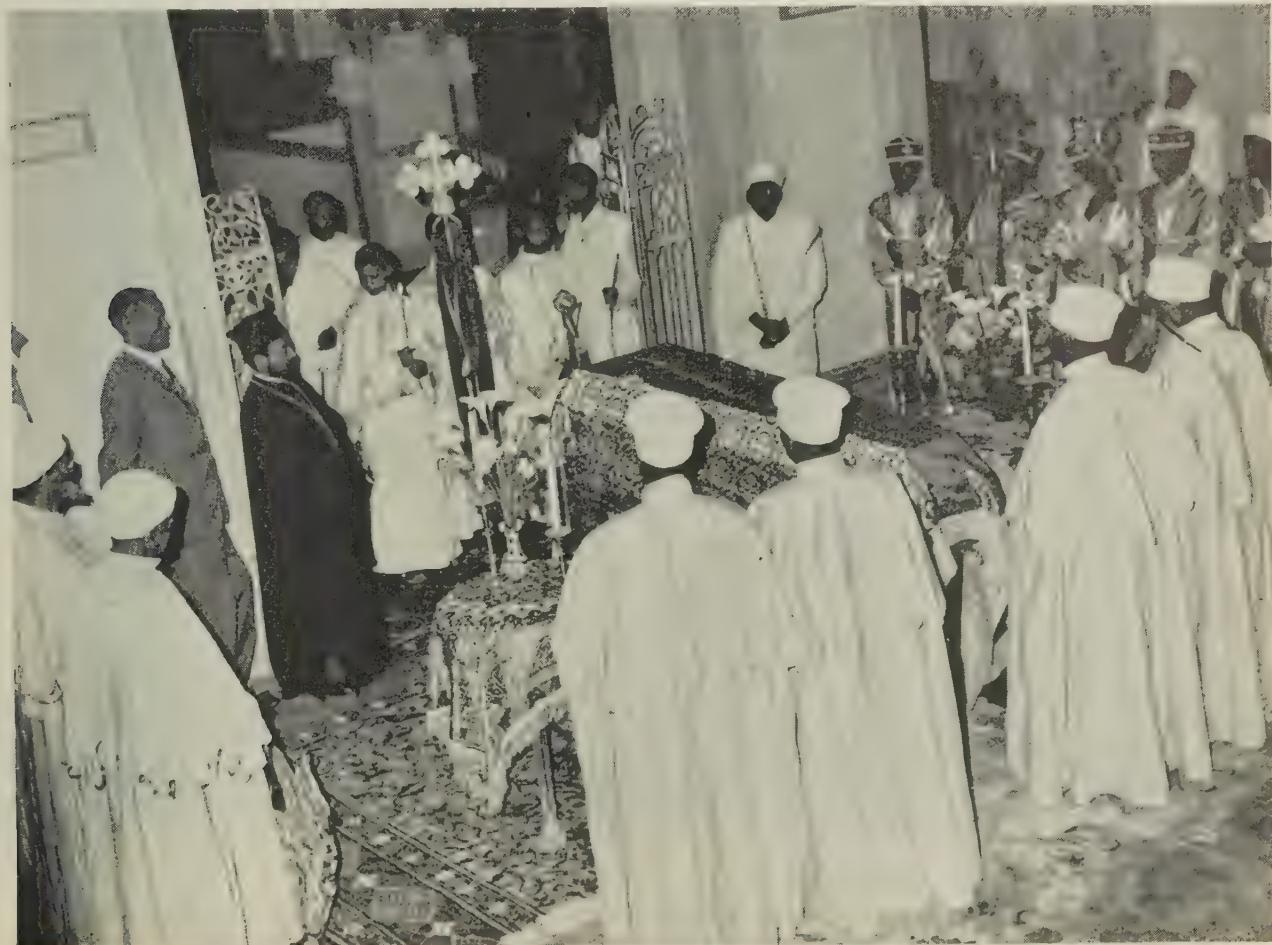
"I have known her since 1910 when she was so distressed by her brother's death, and have followed her work with the greatest admiration—her loyalty and con-

sistent fight for the causes she believed in will always be an inspiration.

"How well I remember her courageous action in being taken on a stretcher to picket the House of Commons with a deputation from the East End in an effort to prove to Asquith that working women wanted to vote; the result was a change of attitude by Asquith which Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence maintained was largely due to Sylvia's actions in stressing the *democratic* demand.

"I was privileged to see several of Sylvia's drawings and paintings last autumn and realise that she could have become a great artist had she not sacrificed that career to the fight for the freedom of women. Women of today owe her a great debt and I hope this may be recognised by a wonderful "Life." by someone who really knows her."

(Continued on page 50)



In the Holy Trinity Cathedral, Addis Ababa, Sylvia is given the name Walata Kristos



The Funeral Service



Cathedral, Addis Ababa

*Photo, Haile Mezemghe*

## WORDS OF APPRECIATION

(continued from page 47)

*From HENRY D. HARBEN, J.P., a Liberal candidate who sent in his resignation to the Asquith Government in protest against its treatment of the women's suffrage question and served as Treasurer of the "Suffrage First Committee" in 1913:*

"She was a great woman, and there are very few persons of which I would say that. I knew her in her younger days in the Suffrage Movement, and saw for myself her terrific power of getting people to work enthusiastically for the right causes. I remember one night at the Albert Hall when George Lansbury and I were the two main speakers, she suddenly appeared on the platform—she was wanted by the police, she made a fine short speech, and disappeared again before they had time to get her. There are still many in the East End who remember her in those days. My own admiration for her was unlimited."

*From GRACE ROE, General Secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union in 1914, who was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and forcibly fed for nine weeks in that year:*

"She was one of the most courageous militants. Her great mother often spoke of this to me, and was most distressed during some of her terrible ordeals.

"I remember so well how beautifully she worked out the exquisite decorative scheme at the Princes Skating Rink long years ago."

*From FRIDA LASKI, widow of Professor Harold Laski and colleague of Sylvia Pankhurst in the East London Suffragettes:*

"It seems as if all my generation were leaving me. I so well visualise all the things we did in East London during the 1911-14 days, when the fight for women's suffrage was at its height, and the awful suspense we went through expecting the worst and sometimes getting it. Those were great days and her devotion to the cause was wonderful; during all the ups and downs of the fight she never seemed to get cold feet, and the struggle went on . . . To have kept on with all the other fights for down-trodden people since the vote was won is really a remarkable effort, for you would have thought she might have taken a rest after all her work for women, but she went on gaily as if there was no end to all the things that needed doing, and she was right. There is still plenty to do, but we hail Sylvia as a wonderful woman, and we are proud to have known and worked with her."

*From NORA WILLIAMS:*

"On my father's side they were all pioneer Socialists from the Midlands and her name was always one which caught my imagination. So you can see it was a great occasion when we all went to the Festival Hall with Mbiyu Koinange, just before you left for Ethiopia."

*From NORAH L. SMYTH, her principal associate in the East End:*

"I was very sorry to think that her full and useful life had ended so suddenly. How sad to think of her not being able to carry out the future humanitarian plans she hoped to start."

"The passing of Sylvia Pankhurst and her selfless, self-sacrificing and courageous work for humanity and inter-nation co-existence is sad, but the fruits of her efforts will continue, and not only in Ethiopia."

*From MARY GAWTHORPE, an old Suffragette; and John Sanders Junior:*

"Her works for humanity continue."

*From ADELA PANKHURST WALSH:*

"Deepest sympathy."

*From ERNEST EDWARD WATSON, one of her Former "body-guards":*

"When my wife read in the papers of her passing it was a great shock for us.

"I trust someone will write a book on her life. I think it would be received with great admiration and inspire humanity to be more kind and just . . .

"I am proud to say I was one of her body-guards and was with her in iron chains and in most of her big campaigns."

### Through the Eyes of the Younger Generation

*From ANDREI ELDON-EDINGTON:*

"The person who has told me most about her is my barber. He is an old East End Jewish man who was one of the early socialists and still broadcasts and writes; he always tells me about meetings at Bow, and how when things got rough and the police would swoop, Sylvia would lead a strategic retreat into Victoria Park and reform ranks there. He also has a tale of Sylvia being smuggled out of a meeting in a rather well-known coat that her char-lady always wore. She seems to have made a very great impression on Albert Saphier (that is the barber), and he speaks of her always in most revered tones."

### From others who knew her in the early days

*From MISS PHYLLIS BAILEY:*

"I had just written to her in answer to a letter in which she said she was writing in bed as she was not well that day. Although she must have been feeling ill, she was still thinking (as usual) about how to help others and was working on the opening of a new wing for the Princess Tsahai Hospital.

"She is a great loss to the world . . . I feel her going very greatly. I don't remember a world without Sylvia in it and I shall miss her terribly."

*From PERCY ARNOLD, author and journalist:*

"I was indeed saddened this morning when I heard the news . . .

"I recall that I first knew her soon after World War I and the Russian Revolution. I am glad that I saw her in her home and sometimes of her life in Addis Ababa, and I remember her kindness to me always."

*From Colleagues in the Movement Against Appeasement of the Fascist Powers*

*From Dr. J. B. TH. HUGENHOLTZ, of the Dutch Reformed Church:*

"She gave her life in the service of justice and humanity and so courageously stood for the cause of the human rights of all peoples and races.

"How fruitful and blessed was her life in the special

service of the liberation of the African peoples and how glad are we all that she has seen the ripening fruits in the liberation of so many African colonial countries."

*From FRANCIS BEAUFORT PALMER, Hon. Secretary, Abyssina Association, 1936-1939:*

"We often think of those years before the war and the bee-hive at Woodford Green! She was a remarkable woman and her steadfast keenness was so valuable. When we disagreed one knew her integrity was sublime."

*F. BEAUFORT-PALMER, in later message:*

"I knew Sylvia Pankhurst during those dreadful years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, when she and I both worked for Ethiopia. When she went to Geneva I had the privilege—and may I say the fun—of bringing out *New Times and Ethiopia News*. It would do an ill service to us both if I pretended that we always agreed on everything, either then or after the year. But we respected each other and knew that each was trying to achieve one thing only—benefit for Ethiopia.

"But it wasn't only Ethiopia. Sylvia Pankhurst's range of interests were wide, indeed. A brilliantly talented artist and writer she was both a cultured woman and an instinctive politician. Her courage goes without saying, her early training as a Suffragette had given her that and also a capacity of wearing down opposition.

"I shall never forget—nor will my wife—the three weeks we spent at Balham during a bye-election, running an Ethiopian shop and interfering in the election. It was during that time that the Spanish Civil War broke out and at once Miss Pankhurst saw and seized on its significance *vis-à-vis* Mussolini.

"Various delightful days and evenings spent in Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex, crowd my memory as I write, not least a little birthday party for the child, Richard. It has been wonderful to think of Sylvia having gone to Addis Ababa and her years of happiness there are a fine tribute both to the debt owed to her by Ethiopia and to His Imperial Majesty for the sure instinct which made it possible for her to go there."

*From the Right Hon. PHILIP NOEL-BAKER, M.P.:*

"I can do no more than pay tribute to her immense courage and devotion to principles even when this was unpopular.

"I am sure future generations will honour her memory as one of the outstanding figures of her age and as one who showed how powerful a part women can play in national and world affairs."

*From E. J. ABURN WEBSTER:*

"The long association starting with the creation of the Peace monument which still stands in a garden of the house opposite here (Woodford Green): This friendship so sincere and intellectual and interesting has been one of the highlights of my life.

"Her bravery, her courage and her definite achievements in securing the vote for her sex will remain history."

*From V. V. TILEA, C.B., Pre-War Rumanian Minister to London:*

"I considered Sylvia Pankhurst as one of the most devoted friends of our country, of its freedom, and a very good personal friend too."

*From MARGARET HAMILTON:*

"It was in the dark days of 1940 when I first met Sylvia Pankhurst, when she needed support to start what was to be called the Win the War League. This was a league formed to try and interest the Government in promoting the recruitment of older men and women to help the national cause.

"We recruited people from all walks of life, and worked hard and long . . . she always liked to think that in some small way we contributed to the forming of the Home Guard.

"They were hectic days indeed, as indeed all the days of her life must have been.

"I shall always treasure very happy memories of our meetings and discussions, and indeed, although I had not seen her since 1954, I shall never forget her, and the many lessons I learned from her good counsel."

*From M. SIMPSON, Hon. Secretary International Arbitration League:*

"Sylvia Pankhurst's name will always be remembered and she will go down in history as a very courageous woman who had the women's cause at heart and who fought so valiantly for women's freedom."

*From BERTRAM SEVENS:*

"I shall never forget that awful Easter when we saw a news placard: 'Addis Ababa bombed.' Very largely due to her efforts some of that wrong has been righted, and many people have cause to remember her with gratitude."

*From Fellow Workers in the Movement for African Independence*

*From SEMAKULA MULUMBA, Representative of the Elders of the People of Uganda, whose agitation in the "Bataka Movement" was referred to in the House of Commons on November 3, 1948:*

"We have lost the general of the most sincere and selfless fighters for justice, freedom and democracy. The people of Ethiopia owe her an eternal debt of gratitude for their independence.

"Sylvia Pankhurst has lived a fully useful life."

*From JOSEPH MURUMBI, Acting Secretary of the Kenya African Union after the arrest of Jomo Kenyatta and before its proscription in June, 1953:*

"Her life's work in the suffragette movement and in the cause of Ethiopian freedom will never be forgotten.

"We Africans will always regard her as being a great friend of our peoples."

*From TOM MBOYA, Kenya trade union leader and General Secretary of the Kenya African National Union:*

"Sad news your mother's death. Accept my deepest sympathy this hour."

*From BERNARD M. DAY, Civil Servant, of England:*

"I always regarded her as a remarkable person, with her impressive mixture of gentleness and determination, of calmness and yet of fervour in her cause."

*From DENNIS EJINDU, of Nigeria, former Haile Sellassie Scholarship Student, now in London (see Ethiopia Observer, Vol. III, No. 3):*

"I paid a short call on a trade unionist I have come to know (in London). When he heard of my coming from Addis, he quickly asked if I knew her. I said 'Yes,' and he said, 'Oh that lady, how we loved her here, if only God had kept her longer. She was the woman who understood our problems and what we need in this country.' It is now that the Labour party is arguing whether or not to go unilateral, and the way. He surprised me, and I started asking questions. He therefore brought me a cut-short obituary from the *Daily Telegraph*. I was dumbfounded.

"He spent almost two hours telling me how she campaigned before and after the war for the betterment of the living conditions of the British people.

"Throughout and since last night my whole thought has been entirely dominated by her as I knew her—her masterly articles and powerful speeches. It is only now that I see more clearly the fight she had given all her life."

*From Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS, founder of Pan-Africanism:*

"I heard of the Pankhurst family in 1911 when I was attending a Races' Congress in London. It ought to have been, and was in many respects, a great occasion, bringing together many men of eminence and representatives of nearly all the races of the world. But it was too near the First World War to have the effect it deserved.

"But to be in London in the summer of 1911 was a great opportunity and one thing which attracted us all was the great fight for women's suffrage being carried on by Emmeline Pankhurst. She had been arrested on her way to the House of Commons with a petition. She undertook a lecture tour in America and on her return she and her daughter, Sylvia, led a window-breaking campaign for women's suffrage. In March, 1912, she was sentenced to eight months in prison and up to the opening of the war she was fighting and being arrested.

"I never met her, but after the First World War when I became interested in the Pan-African movement I called upon her daughter to help me in various ways: to get a hearing before Parliament, to get publicity in England and to get acquainted with persons of influence.

"I realised then and later that the great work of Sylvia Pankhurst was to introduce black Ethiopia to white England, to give the martyred Emperor of Ethiopia a place of refuge during his exile and to make the British people realise that black folk had more and more to be recognised as human beings with the rights of women and men.

"My personal acquaintance with Sylvia Pankhurst was not great. I met her briefly several times, talked and corresponded with her and she took me to the House of Commons. I read her periodical regularly and argued over various points of African progress.

"I have heard of her death with great sorrow, and I am sure that the people of Ethiopia realize how staunch and brave a friend they have lost."

*From CLAUDE JONES, Orthodox Churches, British Guiana:*

"Having heard of the passing away of our dear friend, all Orthodox churches in British Guiana held a memorial service."

*From the Rev. MARRIS E. MATTAVOUS, Afro-American writer, New York:*

"I feel the passing of Miss Pankhurst as my own dear loved one. I had got to love her dearly (even though I had never seen her), for she was a friend to the friendless, and a helper to those who were in distress.

"I feel we have lost a dear friend. Yes, not only those of us who knew her sincerity. But I feel and believe that the world has lost a dear friend. Yes, an angel in disguise, and especially our people, the black peoples, even though they do not realise it. For what the late Miss Pankhurst has done for Ethiopia, I shall never forget her. For what she has done for Ethiopia, she has done it for all Africans, at home and abroad. I sincerely feel and believe this. And may her soul forever rest in peace. We have truly lost a dear friend, and especially Ethiopia.

"The world has lost a dear friend."

*From Dr. K. D. KUMRIA, Editor The African and Colonial World:*

"I was grieved to learn the sad news. Though I had heard about her activities for many years, I personally came in contact with her at the Overseas Indian Conference in 1953 and since then followed her work in the cause of international freedom and democratic movements very closely."

*From HARI CHHABRA, of the Indian Council for Africa (see Ethiopia Observer, Vol. IV, No. 10):*

"I have just heard the sad and shocking news of the passing away of our dear mother. She was, indeed, a great woman, and hence the loss to humanity at large. Africa certainly needed her still more."

*From GEORGE M. HOUSER, Executive Director of the American Committee for Africa:*

"She was truly a remarkable woman. I feel honoured that I had the opportunity of meeting her."

*From M. A. RIBEIRO, first Ghanaian Ambassador to Ethiopia:*

"Ethiopia and indeed all Africa will mourn the loss of Miss Pankhurst, whose devotion to the cause of freedom and whose writings have contributed so much to the emancipation of the African."

*From G. H. MWANGI, Acting Secretary, Kenya Students in Ethiopia:*

"On behalf of the Kenya students and myself I extend our deep sympathy to you. The loss of Sylvia is great to us just as much."

*From People of Many Lands who knew her as a Friend to Youth During their Student Days in England*

*From LEO KATZEN, of the Economics Department, University of Cape Town:*

"It was a privilege for us to have met her."

*From MOHAMED OSMAN YASSEIN, Permanent Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Sudan Government:*

"Sylvia was a personal friend of mine and the kindness she had shown to me during my days at the London School of Economics had the effect of raising my morale and encouraging me to fulfil my task of studying the lessons and knowing the British people.

"I still remember those days when she waved her hand to me on leaving the house at Woodford, saying: 'Go ahead, press on, and come back with flying colours.'

"Our solace is that she succeeded in helping in the liberation of women and her achievements in Ethiopia are there for everybody to see."

*From DEJAZMATCH AMHA ABERRA KASSA, Ethiopian Ambassador to Yugoslavia:*

"It is with great sorrow that I have just come to learn the very sad news. . .

Miss S. Pankhurst will be missed by all of us whom she has left a lasting gratitude. She has been a source of inspiration and encouragement during our periods of education in foreign countries and after, and I am sure that her memory will not only be a comfort to you and her near relatives, but also to all of us who through knowing her personally and through her writings will cherish her memory, and her vindicated struggle for universal justice and freedom in particular."

*From MENGHESTU LEMMA, Acting Ethiopian Chargé d'Affairs in India and author:*

"All India Radio announced to me the very sad news.

"We have all lost a mother. I have lost my 'second mother.'"

*From MEHR S. FARDOONJI, of India:*

"Only a few hours ago we read in the papers the sad news . . .

"There is an Indian platitude which says: 'Once born, death is inevitable.' I think we forget this too often and so get a shock at such times.

"The world has lost a very great fighter for the down-trodden and neglected. Her life was indeed an admirable example to all—especially to modern women who take their freedom for granted and in so doing lose it once again in the absurd ways. I am sure it was only those like her who fought for freedom that know the worth of it and how to use it."

*From LOUIS HABER, of Poland:*

"I have just heard the news on the radio and am writing immediately . . .

"She was one of the very few people in England who were kind to me. If the majority of people, or many more, in England had been like her England would have been a great country and would have had the affection of people like me. She was in many ways a most extraordinary person who will go down in history for several centuries."

*From OMOGI CALLEB, of Kenya, former Haile Sellassie Scholarship Student and Secretary Students' Society, University College of Addis Ababa, now in the United States (see Ethiopia Observer, Vol. III, No. 3):*

"Those who knew her must have felt the heavy loss that her cruel death has caused.

"She has, however, left a name that will continue to live as long as history exists, and nothing is more rewarding than immortal fame."

*From J. N. KESSI, of Tanganyika, former Haile Sellassie Scholarship Student, now in Moscow (see Ethiopia Observer, Vol. IV, No. 5):*

"She meant a lot to us, and did tremendous work for our liberation. She shared our difficulties and sympathised with our agonies of imperialism and colonialism. She fought tirelessly despite her old age against the enemies of African emancipation."

*From R. RAJA INDRA, demographer, of Ceylon:*

"I feel sorry that I shall not be able to see her again. She was always good to me. She lived a very useful life and one which has incidentally made her known over the whole world, which is a comfort."

*From BASIL TAYLOR, of England:*

"May I say how sorry I was to read of her passing. For you it is a sad, if long since inevitable loss. For us it reminded us so forcibly of the causes with which she and her famous household were bound up . . . a family with a permanent place in English Commonwealth and world history. The now romantic-seeming zeal of the suffragettes will long outlast the Chartists in popular history. The same is true of the causes she subsequently espoused. How theatrical the era of Mussolini seems today—how like toys seem the terror of those days."

#### **From Friends of Ethiopia**

*From PROFESSOR MARCEL COHEN, pioneer of Ethiopian linguistic studies:*

"J'ai appris avec beaucoup de regret la disparition de la femme de bien, au plein sens du terme, qu'était Sylvia Pankhurst, courageuse, dévouée et érudite.

"J'ai été en dernier lieu en rapport avec elle lorsqu'elle a publié l'intéressant numéro de contributions savantes sur l'Ethiopie, auquel elle m'avait demandé de participer, et lorsqu'elle a bien voulu m'envoyer son intéressant livre sur l'Ethiopie, dont J'ai eu l'occasion de parler autour de moi.

"Je serai heureux que vous mentionnez que je m'associe chaleureusement à tout hommage à sa mémoire."

*From PROFESSOR EDWARD ULLENDORFF, Department of Semitic Studies, Manchester University:*

"I was greatly distressed to hear of her death on the B.B.C. news this morning.

"I have always admired her courage and devotion. Everyone connected with Ethiopia will long cherish her great services during the Italo-Ethiopian War and its aftermath. For myself, I have always been in sympathy with her fight for the underdog, the oppressed, and the persecuted—without necessarily agreeing with the details of her campaign. Her work for Ethiopia will be remembered by all friends of that country."

*From Dr. OTTO JAGER, of the Public Health College, and writer on Ethiopian art (see Ethiopia Observer, Vol. IV, No. 11):*

"May I take the opportunity to express the feelings of all of us who had the occasion to meet her, on the great and irreplaceable loss."

*From GINGOLD DUPREY, Editor L'Ethiopie d'Aujourd'hui:*

"J'apprends avec une peine profonde la mort de notre chère et grande Sylvia."

"C'est une perte immense que la disparition de ce grand esprit de cette farouche volonté toute vouée à la défense du Droit et de la Justice."

"J'ai suivi depuis vingt-cinq ans la lutte infatigable menée par elle pour la noble cause Ethiopienne à laquelle elle était attachée par toutes les fibres de son être. L'Ethiopie était à juste titre sa patrie de prédilection puis qu'elle personnifiait ce Droit et cette Justice bafoués pour lesquels il nous faut lutter et qu'il nous faut défendre sans répit."

La vie si bien remplie de Miss Pankhurst reste un enseignement toujours vivant et une source riche d'inspiration et d'énergie pour la jeunesse de tous les temps."

*From Mrs. CLARISSA BURGOYNE, widow of Major Burgoyne, who was killed in Ethiopia while organising Red Cross activity at the time of the Italian invasion, and now visiting Ethiopia for the first time:*

"I admired Miss Pankhurst so much: our talks, at our two meetings, and on the telephone, were so interesting and constructive that it is plain this is a loss to me, too.

"Accept my tribute to a lady who was above all an essentially English type."

*From BRIGADIER PHILIP BANKS, who reorganised the Ethiopian Police after the liberation:*

"I held her in the highest respect and was honoured to call her my friend. And so it was with very great regret and sorrow that I read of her passing. May I be permitted to offer my sincere sympathy and to express my deep admiration for this most courageous and valiant of women. One who lived for her ideals, and never, under any circumstances, anywhere, flagged in her determination to achieve them. She leaves behind her a shining name and a brave example."

*From PRINCESS ROSALIE VIAZEMSKY, Secretary of the Princess Tsahai Memorial Committee in England:*

"She was wonderful and devoted. She must have had many happy thoughts. Her great work of the hospital making such headway, and becoming such a wonderful institution for doing good. Also, with her love for Ethiopia, it must have made her happy to see how the country was progressing and taking its place among the great countries of the world."

"She will never be forgotten and her name will live for ever."

*From F. DE HALPERT, pre-war advisor to the Ethiopian Government:*

"She is indeed a loss to the Emperor and the Abyssinians."

*From ELSA FRAENKEL, the artist:*

"You cannot imagine how very sad we all were when we heard the radio . . . On the same evening we saw a short film of when she was young. She looked very beautiful and energetic and inspired."

"It is such a big loss to the lives of everyone who knew her . . . She gave so much to others."

*From J. OUANNOU, Commercial Attaché, Imperial Ethiopian Embassy in Paris:*

"J'apprends avec la plus vive émotion le décès de la très regrettée Miss Sylvia Pankhurst avec laquelle j'avais toujours eu l'honneur de nourrir de temps en temps des relations traitant, chacun de son côté, des intérêts de notre chère Ethiopie."

"Nous sommes profondément affligés."

*From LYNN C. MARTIN, former schoolmaster in Ethiopia, and poet:*

"She was a very grand person, in both the casual and exact senses of that word. Not only did I admire her, I was flattered by her kindness to me, and thrilled by the experience of knowing one so legendarily associated with liberalism (in the American, not the British sense of the word)."

*From G. MORENCY, former Administrator, University College of Addis Ababa:*

"She was always a great lady."

**From Ethiopians in All Walks of Life**

*From IMABET RUTH DESTA, in the United States:*

"What an awful shock I got when I heard the news . . .

"The one wonderful thing about it all is that she was so hard-working and energetic and full of life to the end, which is more than most of us are, even for a little part of our life."

*From LIDJ ENDALKATCHEW MAKONNEN, Ethiopian Ambassador in Britain:*

"Heartfelt condolences on this great loss to the cause of Ethiopia."

*From LIDJ ENDALKATCHEW MAKONNEN, Ethiopian Ambassador in Britain, in a later message:*

"In her humanitarian and international outlook, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was a genuine example of the best of her countrymen, in that neither her voice nor her efforts were ever spared whenever and wherever the cause of justice was at stake."

"In the dark days of Fascist power, when even the most powerful were afraid of annoying Mussolini and Hitler and when the Emperor stood alone in his splendid dignity, Miss Pankhurst rallied her countrymen to the support of the just cause of Ethiopia, and shared with the Emperor and his people the conviction that justice wins in the end."

"Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was one of those rare individuals who are so absorbed in the struggle for righteous causes that they are frequently misunderstood and misjudged. Such misunderstanding and misjudgment was often based on the failure of her critics to grasp her foresight and to apprehend the expanse of her vision."

"Whether the cause was that of the rights of women in her own land or that of the freedom of peoples far beyond, Miss Pankhurst put her whole self into the fight without any reserve or compromise."

"She was a true and loyal citizen of her country but she was an equally devoted daughter of humanity."

"Miss Pankhurst had a deep and lasting love for Ethiopia and had a singularly deep insight into the just and noble aspirations of the Ethiopian people. She went to live amongst the people she loved and has died in their midst."

"Her death is a great loss to Ethiopia but her name and memory shall live for ever in the minds of a grateful people."

*From ATO GERMATCHEW HAWARIAT, Ambassador in Germany:*

"Please accept my heartfelt condolences at the regrettable death of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst."

*From MBIYU KOINANGE, founder of Kenya Independent Schools and representative of Kenya African Union:*

"Her noble selfless work will last throughout the annals of history as an ever inspiring memory of one who has given her entire life for the emancipation of the oppressed throughout the world. Her work must not be taken to have been exclusively related to Britain. She fought for the whole oppressed world. I very well remember how she felt when I told her of my father in prison. Their passing away came like a person taking a nap, quietly and peacefully. For each has actually seen his or her dreams come true, and were happy about it. They would like us, the living, not to shed tears, but rather to carry on where they left off, so bravely, objectively and courageously."

*From ATO AKALE WORK HAPTE WOLD, Ambassador in France:*

"Je viens d'apprendre la triste nouvelle du brusque décès de Madame Pankhurst, qui a profondément surpris et affligé ses nombreux amis qui vivent loin d'Addis-Abeba. La chère Madame Pankhurst était si exceptionnellement active et énergique que nul ne pouvait présenter et craindre une fin si soudaine."

"Permettez moi de vous exprimer en cette tragique circonstance, mes sentiments profondément attristés."

"Madame Pankhurst laissera en Ethiopie, ce pays qu'elle avait tant aimé et servi, un souvenir inoubliable."

Tous ceux qui, comme moi l'ont connue et se sont honorés de son amitié évoqueront de sa bonté et de son indomitable courage."

*From ATO YOHANNES REDA-EGZY, Ambassador in Japan:*

"Miss Pankhurst's long fight for social reform and freedom for the oppressed in general everywhere, and her great service in support of the Ethiopian cause, in particular, will forever remain a reminiscence of her greatness

"Miss Pankhurst's unchallenged moral courage and determination, under adverse circumstances, will serve as a source of inspiration for those who wish to render service to humanity."

*From ATO PETROS SAHLOU, Minister in Mexico:*

"During my two appointments as a member of the Ethiopian Embassy in London, I came not only to know Miss Pankhurst herself, but really to appreciate the great assistance she always gave to Ethiopia without any thought to herself.

"It is with a feeling of deep sadness that I came to know of her passing."

*From ATO TEKLE TSADIK MEKOURIA, Consul-General in Jerusalem, and historian:*

"Je viens d'apprendre par les journaux la perte cruelle que vous venez de subir . . . J'avais l'honneur de la connaître et j'estimais autant qu'elle le méritait.

"Certainement l'Ethiopie a perdu en la mort de cette illustre dame, dont le souvenir restera inoubliable parmi nous."

*From PROFESSOR TAMARAT, also of the Consulate-General at Jerusalem:*

"Profondément affligé. Prière recevoir sincères condoléances."



The Coffin is conveyed to the last resting place

*From ATO ZAWDIE HAILE MARIAM of the Ethiopian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations :*

"It has been a great shock . . . She has been long regarded as our spiritual mother in more senses than one. To all real anti-Fascists as well as to all patriotic Ethiopians she has been a symbol of moral strength and fortitude. She has shown to the world the manner of implementing the ideals in which one sincerely believes . . .

"It is my duty to express my great respect for her person, and my humble gratitude towards her, as an Ethiopian citizen, for what she has done for my country.

"We, citizens of Ethiopia, owe a lasting and undiminished obligation to the greatest feminist politician of the world, who dedicated her whole self to the interest of Ethiopia."

*From ATO ENGEDA ABBEYE, Embassy in Egypt :*

"I was deeply grieved . . . she was a devoted friend of the country in which she lived the last few years of her life."

*From BRIGADIER GENERAL ABAYE ABEBE, the Emperor's Representative in Eritrea :*

"Deeply moved by sad news."

*From BLATTENGETTA EPHREM TEWELDE MEDHEN, former Ethiopian Ambassador in England, etc.:*

"On my return to Addis Ababa I am shocked to learn of the sad news of the passing of my sincere friend."

*From ATO GETATCHEW BEKELE, Assistant Minister of Marine (in Eritrea) :*

"Deeply touched and sympathise in loss of dear and patriotic mother."

*From ATO KEBEDE ABOZEN, Kantiba of Gondar :*

"The people of Gondar town and myself extend you our sincere condolence."

*From COLONEL TAMRAT, Governor of Jimma, and WOIZERO MARTA IMRU :*

"We regret sad news Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's death. Sincerest condolences."

*From ALMAZ AYELE, President, International Women's Club of Addis Ababa :*

"Your personal loss is shared not only by the people of Ethiopia but by any and all groups working for the betterment of conditions in Ethiopia and of all humanity.

"Miss Pankhurst's contributions have been manifold and she has been a real inspiration to lesser people striving toward the same goals.

"It must be a source of gratification that until the very end she was able to work earnestly for those things in which she believed."

*From AREFE-AINE ABRAHAM, Chairman, The Ethiopian British Society :*

"The sudden death has struck us all with sorrow . . . Her death has been felt a general loss."

*From ATO DEBEBE YOHANNES, of the State Bank Exchange Division (on leave in England) :*

"It was very saddening to read the news . . . I was very shocked both because she was a great friend of Ethiopia and the Ethiopians and because she was also my good friend and mother."

*From ATO MESFIN BELETTE, of State Bank of Ethiopia in Khartoum :*

"My Ethiopian colleagues in State Bank join me in sending my deepest condolences on the loss of promoter of liberty and international justice."

*From ATO IDRIS M. SOLIMAN, former Director of Her Imperial Majesty's Handicraft School :*

"It was indeed with great shock that I learned the news about our mother Sylvia, whom we regarded with affection and had great integrity and kindness for all of us."

*From HAILE-AB TEDLA, journalist :*

"It was with deep sorrow that I heard the sad news of the passing of our beloved Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst. She was an outstanding champion of freedom and her place is among the immortal patriots of our country.

"Miss Pankhurst will be remembered in history as a courageous and great fighter for international justice and peace. Her firm stand in her noble principles with her sacrifice in the just cause of the Ethiopian people in particular, and the Africans and others in general, is a monumental work that will shine her fame.

"Her iron will and stamina in fighting for her conviction will be an inspiration for present and coming generations.

"Miss Pankhurst's struggle against the force of reaction has won for her universal admiration, and her deeds have been crowned by the defeat of Fascism.

"Her loss is indeed great to our country.

"May she rest in peace in the land of Kush she loved, where she has devoted her life for the well being of the Ethiopian people."

*From ATO GHIORGIS HAPTIT, chief of Damas :*

"Deep consolation for death of benefactor."

*From ATO BEMNET GABRE AMLAK, Marine Department, Asmara :*

"Participating sorrow in departure of adorable mother."

*From COLONEL TADESSE BRU, Police Emergency Force :*

"Deeply grieved."

*From IBRAHIM NUR HUSSEIN at Jimma :*

"Please accept my sincere sympathy."

*From BELAY GABRE, Civil Aviation Department :*

"I never had any personal interview with her, but have read her books and articles : she was a hard worker.

"One day when I was a student at the Civil Aviation School she visited it. When I saw her face the impression I had was : how can a woman at such an age work like that. She was different from other women. She was the only white woman to work in this way for the development of Ethiopia."

*From BEINE G. SELLASSIE, Librarian, Eritrean Government Library :*

"Most deepest sympathy."

*From her chauffeur in Ethiopia, ATO YAMI MUKTAR (translated):*

"Kind Miss Pankhurst, helper of the poor and mother of the orphans, worked day and night without rest, used

all her energy and her brilliant mind to help the people. She did her best to aid the poor and educate orphans with her own money wherever possible. When we drove along the roads and came across blind people and cripples she gave them money and took them to the Princess Tsahai Hospital for treatment.

"It is every person's duty to do all he can all his life but death being our last conclusion we must not be sorry when our great helpers and friends die, for it is the power and right of God to take away those whom He brought to His earth.

"What makes me sad is that there were so many things she wished to complete, but has left unfinished on account of this cruel death which interrupts her work.

"Death, the sly cheater, has left us all with gloomy clouds of sorrow and came at a time when we were resting our bones.

"The world is full of such happenings: a sunny day, with a clear sky; a holiday with blooming flowers, but death has stolen Miss Pankhurst from all these beauties.

"Flowers fade, plants wither; all that flourishes will die one day."

*From MRS. MIGNON FORD, founder and director of the Princess Zennebe Worg School :*

"Please accept my heartfelt condolence for the loss of a patriot to Ethiopia."

*From JUDGE W. GRABOWSKI :*

"We were deeply grieved to learn from English newspapers—whilst flying back from Europe—about the loss.

"We wish to convey the expression of our deepest sympathy and sorrow."

*From HARRY SHORE, former adviser at the Post Office and designer of one issue of Ethiopian postage stamps :*

"I was shocked and so very sorry to learn the sad news."

*From JOHN TOMAZOS, of the Greek Embassy :*

"The loss of the great woman has been felt by all those who followed her efforts for a better world."

*From MRS. SLAVENKA PETNICKI, of the Yugoslav Embassy :*

"It is with profound regret that I have learnt the sad news . . . Please accept my sincere condolence on your great loss which has deeply moved all of us who knew Miss Pankhurst and had a great respect for her and her work."

*From IBRAHIM SAKR, of the United Arab Republic Embassy :*

"Heartfelt sympathies."

*From H. BARON-ON, Consul General of Israel :*

"Miss Pankhurst was undoubtedly one of the outstanding women of our period, and her life work will, I am certain, survive the passage of time. Her work for Ethiopia was an inspiration to all of us who are devoted to the cause of this great country."

#### **From Friends in Ethiopia**

*From DR. JOHANN OTTO, member of the Social Service Society Executive and formerly Dozent of the Haile Sellassie Hospital :*

"Having had the privilege to get an insight into Miss Pankhurst's noble character and unwavering efforts for the benefit of her fellow men by our co-operation in the

Social Service Society, I fully realise and deeply mourn with you the great bereavement the whole of Ethiopia has suffered. To me personally her example will always mean a great encouragement and inspiration."

*From PROFESSOR J. LE FLEMING BURROW, Medical Director, Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital:*

"We have lost a rare personality and kind friend to all good causes and the poor in the passing of Miss Pankhurst. Her work and great achievement in the cause of citizenship for women in England was followed by charitable work for the poor, and for all people of all races who had met with misfortune, or illness, or who needed help in any form. No person, who deserved encouragement or guidance, was ever turned away without sympathy and help from Miss Pankhurst.

"In the latest hours of her life she was engaged in writing letters and several appeals for the Memorial Hospital, named after Princess Tsahai, where a new enlargement of the midwifery hospital and school for midwives is now under consideration. We need so many more trained midwives to staff the distant country centres and even in our hospitals nearer to Addis Ababa. The ante-natal care of expectant mothers saves much suffering and many lives, when the crises of delivery arrives. Miss Pankhurst gave her best efforts and spent her strength in this cause and for the poor and crippled through the Social Services Committee. Largely by her efforts we are now building up a surgical service (orthopaedic) for cripples and will soon have workshops for making simple appliances and artificial limbs so that the crippled will work at suitable work and not beg in the streets for a living.

"All these schemes Miss Pankhurst loved to help and made plans to carry out. Many hundreds of poor or ailing people owe their recovery of health and happiness to the good deeds and intense personal interest of our dear friend and helper, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, here in Ethiopia.

"These few words of affection and appreciation express very inadequately the sentiments of us all here.

*J. Le F. BURROW, M.D., F.R.C.P.,  
Medical Director,  
Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital.*

#### **From others who knew her**

*From ANNE GUTHRIE, of New York, of the International Alliance of Women :*

"The New York Times has just brought me the news . . . I want to tell you what a privilege it was to meet her and to know something of her works for humanity.

"I look back on those days in Addis Ababa as a rare part of Mrs. Brown's and my African journey. We were there at a sad time: the son of the Emperor had just died, but she did so much to help us meet people and get the most possible from our visit."

*From TEHILLA MATMON, Israeli feminist leader :*

"I remember well our long and interesting talk at her home in London, and was always proud to have had the chance to meet this great and famous woman.

"There is a great loss in the passing away of Miss Pankhurst, not only for those who loved and highly appreciated her, but also for those people who needed

her devoted heart and bright mind in their own problems.

"She left a great heritage which will be a symbol to all humanity."

*From DANG CONG THANG, of South Vietnam:*

"Many lady-friends of our Vietnamese Feminist Group profoundly mourned this eminent lady.

Since World War I, in France and in England, where many of our Vietnamese exiled students of both sexes were dwelling, we learnt a good deal about her and her political family, all protagonists of women's emancipation, who raised the social standard of females up to the same level as men's own.

"Now that our heroine has said farewell to this vale of tears, we should keep her memory alive in our hearts: we should like to reconstitute the story of her struggles and victories on behalf of our sisters and daughters in the numerous areas of our civilised world."

*From KUMARI JAYAWARDENA, of Ceylon:*

"Deepest sympathies."

*From ELIZABETH NORDSVAN, of Australia:*

"I read with deep regret of her passing. I knew her well, many years ago . . . in London.

"We were young and seething with what we planned to do to help our fellow women—who really didn't want to be helped! I admired her greatly—she was so vital and warm. When I was returning to Australia in 1919 I almost had Sylvia persuaded to come. I have never forgotten her. . . . She was a remarkable woman, and although it must be forty years since we last met (I had letters from her until about twenty years ago), I had a deep affection for her and still think of her with love."

#### From persons with whom she worked

*From the Secretary of Ethiopia Observer in England, MRS. I. E. TIMS :*

"It was such a shock to hear the B.B.C. announce that she had passed away. How I would have loved to see her. My admiration for her is beyond any words I can express, her unselfishness and thought for others will never be forgotten by millions."

*From MISS HILDA F. HOWELL, who did some typing for her :*

"I have just learned this morning on the radio of the great and irreparable loss . . . The news is also featured in the daily papers, but I haven't recovered from the shock of hearing it first thing this morning.

"Although I never met her, I often talked to her on the phone, and it was always a great delight to me to feel I was helping her work."

*From THE VOICE OF ETHIOPIA (an editorial) :*

"Ethiopia has lost a valuable friend in the passing of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who for so long has contributed so much in the field of making Ethiopia known to the rest of the world.

"Miss Pankhurst was a militant ally of Ethiopia. She could not be otherwise, for she had a militant spirit. She devoted herself to Ethiopia and its problems, and in espousing the cause of Ethiopia, with the same vigour and virility that she supported her noted mother's campaign for the enfranchisement of, and equal rights for women.

"The full weight of her energies were made felt just

prior to, during and immediately after the Italian occupation. She made Ethiopia's cause known not only in Great Britain but in all parts of the world.

"It was characteristic of Miss Pankhurst that she did not approach the task unequipped for the fray. In the process of representing Ethiopia to the world at large, Miss Pankhurst acquired an almost inexhaustible supply of knowledge regarding Ethiopia. Her books have become authoritative works on Ethiopia's history, her culture, her customs, her hopes and aspirations and the accomplishments that have been achieved under the present ruler, His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellassie First.

"She did her task ardently and with devotion for she had a deep and abiding love for the people of Ethiopia even as Ethiopians had an unbounded affection for her.

"Her name undoubtedly will go down in the annals of Ethiopian history as a friend who championed a worthy cause and succeeded.

"Miss Pankhurst was a woman of kindly disposition and gracious manner. She had the happy faculty of being able to enlist others in support of her various enterprises. It is no wonder then that so many turned out yesterday to pay their last respects to so distinguished a woman.

"The presence of Their Imperial Majesties, His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince, other members of the Imperial household as well as Ministers of the Crown testified to the deep affection in which Miss Pankhurst was held and paid tribute to her loyal and devoted service to Ethiopia.

"The Voice of Ethiopia joins with thousands upon thousands of others in extending heartfelt condolences to her immediate relatives, and her host of intimate friends who grieve over her passing."

#### TRIBUTES

Wreaths were laid on the grave from the following persons and organisations :—

Their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor and Empress. Their Imperial Highnesses, The Crown Prince and Princess.

H.I.H. Princess Tenagne Work Haile Sellassie.

H.I.H. Prince Sahle Sellassie.

H.E. Ato Amde Mikael Dessalegn, Minister of Information.

H.E. Ato Zewde Gabre Hywot, Kantiba (Lord Mayor) of Addis Ababa.

The Patriotic Associations (Ager Fiker Mahaber, Jegenoch Mahaber).

The Women's Welfare Work Association.

The Ethiopia and Eritrea Unionist Association.

The Social Service Society.

The Ethiopian Red Cross Society.

Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital.

Haile Sellassie Hospital.

Ethio-British Society.

Ethiopian newspapers : "Addis Zemen," "Sendek Alamachin," "l'Ethiopie d'Aujourd'hui," "Ethiopian Herald," "Voice of Ethiopia," "Voice of Eritrea."

National Library and Archaeology Department.

Dr. and Mrs. Richard Pankhurst.

Family Bairu.

Mr. and Mrs. Seyum Bekele.

Afework Tekle.

Dr. Ghose.

The doctors Hamlin.



H.I.M. The Emperor Haile Selassie lays a wreath on Sylvia's grave

## Press Obituaries in other lands

By Olga Somech Phillips  
in the "Jewish Review," London

The recent death of Sylvia Pankhurst, remembered by my generation as "one of those Suffragette Pankhursts," brings back to me very different recollections.

It was Maurice Bannister, the great exponent of

Jewish folk-songs, who introduced me to her before World War II. She had a slight Lancashire accent, and all the forthrightness of a north-country woman. There was an impractical streak in the haphazard arrangement of her charitable organisations, but the bigness of her heart always won her adherents. To the end she fought

for human rights, in all places, and she helped many a Jewish refugee to secure permit to work in this country.

I often read characters by handwriting in the beautiful grounds attached to Bedford College, Regents Park, where Miss Pankhurst held fetes in aid of the Ethiopian cause, her enthusiasm for which developed in her later years. She was steeped in the history, law and traditions of Ethiopia, said to be the land of Solomon's Queen of Sheba, and wrote a substantial and well-illustrated book on the country, where she spent her last years, and where she died. Where Ethiopia was concerned, she was somewhat "agin the Government," but to fight for right was second nature to her, and she was the champion of the underdog to the end. The meetings connected with Ethiopia that she began, still take place at the House of Lords and are attended by a number of prominent persons; Ethiopia is now a free country.

Miss Pankhurst was a devoted mother to Richard, her son, and he was a strong motive in her ultimate choice of Ethiopia as a home. He studied at the London School of Economics, and followed his mother in her love of Ethiopia, where he is now alone.

I remember my last visit to Miss Pankhurst's home in Woodford Green, Essex, with my brother-in-law Herman Simberg, who, as a singer from Russo-Poland, deeply appreciated her warm sympathy for his art and his former countrymen.

Among her many activities, Miss Pankhurst founded a weekly newspaper, now quite a dignified monthly: we shall miss her own articles therein and much else. It is not the Suffragette only whose memory will live on, but the courageous spirit that fought unceasingly for suffering humanity and its rights.

**By Mohamed Osman Yassein  
in the Sudanese "Morning News."**

The death of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst removes from the stage a militant suffragette, a distinguished social worker and a great friend of the African cause.

She devoted herself to women rights and before the first World War went to prison several times in opposing the authorities to promote her ideas and ideals. The suffragette movement owes a great deal to her struggle and that of her mother and sister.

During the Italian aggression against Ethiopia she devoted herself to the Ethiopian cause and fought Fascism bitterly.

Sudanese students, especially those who were in London in 1946, will remember the care and generosity she extended to them in her house in Woodford Green, and the sympathy and encouragement which she expressed to them.

The Ethiopian Government, in recognition of her memorable services to Ethiopia during the difficult days named one of the main streets of Addis Ababa and a wing in Tsahai hospital after her.

During her later days she lived in Addis Ababa and issued many pamphlets and books.

**From "Die Welt," Germany**

"The life of this outstanding woman was one uninterrupted protest against everything she deemed to be unjust and wrong. Her great loyalty to her convictions and her fighting courage are acknowledged by her native country with whose laws she so often came in conflict."

**From "Vjesnik u Srijedu," Yugoslavia,  
in an article entitled:  
"The Most Militant Women In England"**

"She worked for Ethiopia after 1935 with the same love and enthusiasm with which she led the suffragettes. Her house in Woodford Green, became a centre for action to liberate Ethiopia . . . she actively helped its Resistance Movement."

**From Walter Holmes' notebook in the  
"Daily Worker," London**

Of Sylvia Pankhurst's impact on the Socialist movement I preserve some clear impressions. They survive from the turbulent days of political and industrial struggle into which World War I exploded abruptly.

Sylvia, impelled by that exciting atmosphere of challenge which we all breathed, and also by her own adventurous temperament, broke loose of her family's bourgeois bounds and took the women's suffrage campaign to the East End.

It so happened that I found myself in the front row for that most electrifying performance. Two years before the war I was working in an East End chemical factory.

I saw the effects of Sylvia's appeal to the women of the working class. It was the breadth and strength of the movement that impressed me.

Sylvia Pankhurst was always somewhat of an emotional individualist, but what she aroused in the East End was a mass movement.

Not only an enthusiastic following of young working-class women joined in her franchise campaign: young workers came with them and the Workers' Socialist Federation replaced the Women's Social and Political Union.

They filled the streets with their marching. The "Red Flag" and "International" resounded under the dimmed lights of 1914-15.

With little understanding of Socialist aims Sylvia Pankhurst contributed to a powerful opposition to imperialist war.

She had political flair which showed itself in the apt naming of her paper, the Workers' Dreadnought. That weekly sheet played an invaluable part in providing militant workers with ammunition against the jingo Press.

Her work bore fruit when Churchill's war of intervention in the Soviet Union was scotched in the docks of East London.

# Education Report

## Analysis of Developments in Recent Years

*"The time is passed for paying mere lip-service to our country. The crying need of our people is education, without which we cannot maintain our independence. The proof of real patriotism is to recognise this fact—in the case of those who possess the means, to found schools—and to forward the cause of education in every way. Progress has to be made little by little. I have built this school as a beginning and as an example which I appeal to the wealthy among the people to follow."*

Thus spoke the Emperor Haile Sellassie, when still Ras Tafari, Regent and Heir to the Throne, in opening the Tafari Makonnen School in Addis Ababa in 1925.

A quarter of a century later, on the occasion of the 21st. Coronation Anniversary, he declared:

"If we have made so many sacrifices for the education of our youth, it is because we are convinced that only through intellectual progress and universal education can Ethiopia come into its own."

Throughout these years the Emperor has emphasized the paramount importance of education and has given this field of progress pride of place in Ethiopian development; his visits to schools and colleges made to inform himself of educational problems and to give advice and encouragement to staff and students alike have become legendary and are remembered by all.

The following report is intended to examine the educational position in Ethiopia as of the academic year 1959-60, as well as the changes which have occurred in the last few years, in statistical terms. This article should be read in conjunction with the descriptions of schools and education reports published in earlier issues of "Ethiopia Observer," namely Volume I Nos. 3, 4, 7 and 10; Volume II Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 10; Volume III Nos. 1, 3, 7, 9 and Volume IV No. 4.

### Historical Background

The modern schools of Ethiopia were inaugurated, and the Department of Education established under a Director-General by the Emperor Menelik II (1865-1911). He founded the first boys' grammar school, the Menelik Lyceum in 1908, and a school at Harar in the same year.

The Emperor Haile Sellassie, when Regent Tafari Makonnen before his coronation, established the Tafari Makonnen School in 1925, and St. George's School for boys and girls in 1929. In the Provinces he established in 1928 a school at Gore where English was taught; at Dire Dawa, where both French and English were taught; and at Jigjiga and Lekemti, at both of which there was English instruction. At Dessie the Princess Sihene, mother of the present Empress, founded a school in 1928, where instruction was in French.

After the Emperor Haile Sellassie came to the Throne he founded, in 1930, the Haile Sellassie College of Arts and Sciences, where professional training, including pedagogy, was given in French; in 1932 St. Saviour's School for orphan boys which gave instruction in French and had a section for teaching shoe-making, carpentry and other trades; in 1934 the Boy Scouts' School of Signalling, where

general instruction was also given in French; in 1935 the Kabana School, with instruction in French, and other schools.

In the Provinces the Emperor established after this coronation, schools in 1931 at Asba Tafari (English teaching); 1932 Jimma (French teaching); 1933 Harar (French teaching); schools with English teaching at Gojjam and Gondar in 1934, and Sallale and Makalle in 1935.

The Empress Menen, eager to provide for Ethiopian girls as good an education as for their brothers, founded the Menen High School, where primary and secondary education was given in French. The pupils attended the French Legation to sit for the French school certificate. In addition to the general school course they were taught dressmaking, housekeeping, drawing and music.

At the time of the Italian invasion 4,000 pupils were attending 14 government schools in the Capital. At that time some 40 Ethiopian students were studying abroad at government expense.

The second period of modern Ethiopian education began with the resumption of Ethiopian education in February, 1942. The task in the educational field was at that time complicated by the fact that, along with little children entering school at the normal age, were older boys and girls craving for the instruction which had been denied them during the sad five years of interregnum. Since 1942 the basis of a modern educational system has been laid down, comprising elementary, secondary and higher education, not only for the youth of all provinces of Ethiopia, but, of recent years, also for youngsters from many other parts of Africa.

### The Overall Picture

Statistics published by the Ethiopian Ministry of Education and Fine Arts give a clear picture of educational progress achieved up to the academic year 1959-60.

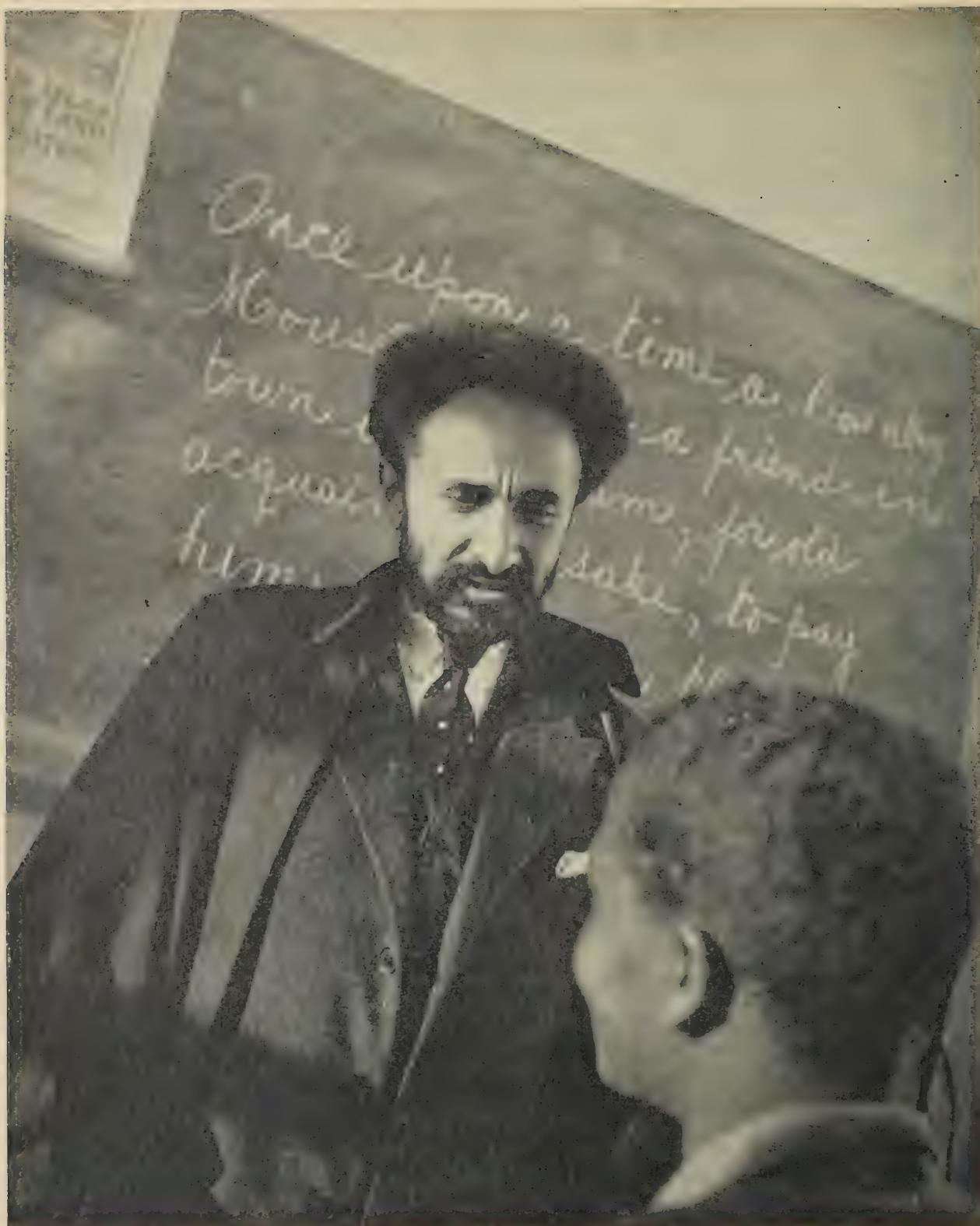
There were then 643 Government Schools of all levels with 4,834 teachers, 4,502 classrooms and 180,163 students. To these figures must be added Ethiopian Church Schools, Mission Schools, Private Schools and Community Schools established through community initiative but in receipt of government assistance of one kind or another.

In the year 1959-60 there were believed to be at least 10,000 Church Schools, though only 60 are included in the Ministry's analyses: these had 180 teachers, 83 classroom units and 4,389 students. There were 150 Mission Schools, of elementary and secondary status, with 804 teachers, 773 classrooms and 20,497 students.

Private Schools, also of elementary and secondary status, numbered 78 and had 557 teachers, 433 classrooms and 14,790 students.

Community Schools, which were all of elementary level, are given as 41, with 136 teachers, 147 classrooms and 5,095 students.

The Ministry's statistics—which, as we have said, include only a fraction of Church Schools—therefore indicate a grand total of 972 schools, with 6,511 teachers, 5,938 classrooms and 224,934 students, 51,439 of whom were girls.



One of the Emperor Haile Selassie's historic visits to an Addis Ababa school

The position throughout the Empire was as follows:

STUDENT ENROLMENT IN THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOLS

Location	Sex	Government Schools	Mission Schools	Private Schools	Community Schools	Church Schools	Total
Shoa	Male	23,700	540	28	297	191	24,756
	Female	5,418	175	6	136	36	5,771
Gojjam	Male	7,010	87	—	404	—	7,501
	Female	1,426	17	—	137	—	1,580
Wellegga	Male	10,730	860	478	—	—	12,068
	Female	1,106	226	63	—	—	1,395
Arussi	Male	8,571	2,031	717	628	1,029	12,976
	Female	1,396	183	97	88	150	1,914
Harar	Male	9,204	1,513	447	120	434	11,718
	Female	2,981	748	34	39	98	3,906
Sidamo	Male	7,264	2,637	—	853	—	10,751
	Female	1,035	371	—	51	—	1,457
Begemdir	Male	6,230	161	—	329	—	6,720
	Female	2,248	109	—	90	—	2,447
Tigre	Male	4,871	99	—	—	—	4,970
	Female	1,808	32	—	—	—	1,840
Wollo	Male	6,378	196	239	570	2,217	9,630
	Female	2,173	101	156	105	174	2,709
Gemu Goffa	Male	2,758	297	—	430	30	3,515
	Female	290	49	—	97	—	436
Illubabor	Male	5,250	37	99	302	—	5,688
	Female	677	4	15	17	—	713
Kaffa	Male	4,084	368	196	343	—	4,991
	Female	965	59	32	59	—	1,115
TOTAL	Male	96,050	8,826	2,204	4,276	3,931	115,287
	Female	21,523	2,074	403	819	458	25,277
Addis Ababa	Male	20,390	1,341	1,868	—	—	23,399
	Female	9,913	1,644	1,205	—	—	12,762
Eritrea	Male	23,989	4,782	5,538	—	—	34,609
	Female	8,298	1,830	3,272	—	—	13,100
EMPIRE TOTAL	Male	140,429	14,949	9,910	4,276	3,931	173,495
	Female	39,734	5,548	4,880	819	458	51,139

### Government Schools

Government education, it will be seen, constitutes the backbone of the educational system, being responsible for the schooling of 180,163 pupils out of a total of 224,934 pupils. Private and Mission Schools are nonetheless growing much faster than Government Schools as may be seen from the fact that whereas the number of pupils enrolled in Government Schools increased by 14 per cent. between 1957-58 and 1959-60, those in Private and Mission Schools increased by 154 per cent. and 55 per cent. respectively. These statistics indicate that the desire for education is now widespread throughout the country: Government Schools are hard-pressed to expand in proportion to this comparatively sudden demand for tuition. Some parents with

means therefore, tend to send their children to fee-paying, non-Governmental Schools, where, as in many other countries, competition for entry is less fierce, the average size of classes is smaller and standards are thought to be higher.

The 643 Government Schools comprise 581 elementary schools, 28 academic secondary schools, 29 special secondary schools teaching one or more trades, and five college-level institutions.

A steady increase is to be seen in the number of schools, classrooms, teachers and students during recent years, as shown in the following tables.

### Classrooms

Corresponding figures for the number of classrooms are as follows:

Location	Elementary		Academic Secondary		Special Secondary Colleges		Total
	(School years 1 to 8)	(School years 9 to 12)	(School years I-IV)	(School years 13 to 16)	Total		
Addis Ababa							
1955-6	19	8	5	3	35		
1956-7	20	8	7	3	38		
1957-8	19	8	12	3	42		
1958-9	19	10	14	3	46		
1959-60	18	11	16	3	48		
12 Provinces							
1955-6	413	1	2	2	418		
1956-7	423	2	3	3	431		
1957-8	442	7	8	2	459		
1958-9	415	13	8	2	438		
1959-60	409	14	10	2	435		
Eritrea							
1955-6	128	—	—	—	124		
1956-7	141	—	—	—	141		
1957-8	122	2	2	—	126		
1958-9	148	2	3	—	153		
1959-60	154	3	3	—	160		
Empire Total							
1955-6	560	9	7	5	581		
1956-7	584	10	10	6	610		
1957-8	583	17	22	5	627		
1958-9	582	25	25	5	637		
1959-60	581	28	29	5	643		

The main expansion, it will be seen, is the secondary schools, which, the Ministry suggests, has in some areas actually reduced the number of elementary classes as many of these have been raised to a secondary level.

### Size of Class and Teacher Load

The expansion of education has been accompanied by a progressive increase in the size of classes as illustrated in the following table which shows the average mean size of elementary classes for the last eight years for the Empire as a whole:

Empire Government	Grade							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1952-3	49	27	21	18	15	15	13	12
1953-4	54	29	23	19	17	15	15	13
1954-5	57	30	23	21	17	15	15	14
1955-6	61	35	36	24	20	16	16	16
1956-7	70	44	32	28	25	23	20	21
1957-8	63	42	34	32	29	27	25	25
1958-9	60	41	35	31	29	28	27	28
1959-60	61	43	37	32	33	30	27	30

Though the increase in class sizes represents a budgetary saving and a more complete utilisation of teachers and classrooms it cannot, of course, continue indefinitely, the more so as the mean average figure conceals considerable overcrowding in the largest classes.

### Teachers

There has been some increase in the total number of teachers in the Empire, but the number of foreign teachers, about half of whom are Indian, has fallen considerably in the last year. This is apparently not fully the result of the training of local teachers; it is partly explained, according to the Ministry, by the fact that some contracts had not been renewed when the count was made, while some new teachers only subsequently reported for duty.

The available data on Ethiopian and foreign teachers employed in Government Schools is as follows:

Location	Ethiopians		Foreigners		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Addis Ababa					
1955-6	365	74	176	86	701
1956-7	394	86	226	93	799
1957-8	481	95	224	101	901
1958-9	605	166	273	113	1,157
1959-60	643	146	228	99	1,116
12 Provinces					
1955-6	1,766	122	125	38	2,051
1956-7	2,019	142	121	36	2,318
1957-8	2,294	156	143	47	2,640
1958-9	2,422	183	172	43	2,820
1959-60	2,561	185	157	34	2,937
Eritrea					
1955-6	390	80	5	1	476
1956-7	497	101	6	2	606
1957-8	525	98	1	3	627
1958-9	592	125	15	14	745
1959-60	629	118	28	6	781
Empire Total					
1955-6	2,521	276	306	125	3,228
1956-7	2,910	329	353	131	3,723
1957-8	3,300	349	368	151	4,168
1958-9	3,619	374	469	170	4,723
1959-60	3,833	449	413	139	4,834

### Teacher Education

During the last eight years the number of Ethiopian students taking Teacher Education courses has increased almost ten-fold, while the number of graduate teachers has increased even faster; the quickest rate of growth in both cases, however, was in the years from 1945 to 1949. Three types of training are offered: for Secondary School Teachers, Elementary School Teachers, and Community Teachers and Workers.

The training of Secondary School Teachers began at the University College of Addis Ababa in 1955-56 when 25 students were enrolled for this course. The number of students following this line of study stood in the next four years was 46, 47, 71 and 95 respectively. There were 20 graduations in 1958-59 and 16 in 1959-60, so that the number of graduated teachers from this course now stands at 36.

There are seven courses for Elementary School Teachers offered in various parts of the Empire, teacher training being now carried out in Addis Ababa, Harar and Asmara.

The progress in this field may be seen in the following figures:

Elementary School Training Courses	Number of Students Enrolled										Teachers Graduated								Total Graduated
	1952-3	53-4	54-5	55-6	56-7	57-8	58-9	59-60	52-3	53-4	54-5	55-6	56-7	57-8	58-9	59-60	1952-60		
4 year course, Addis Ababa ... ...	—	52	87	59	106	170	180	239	—	52	87	49	9	9	9	25	240		
4 year course, Harar ... ...	118	196	260	315	353	340	370	277	30	25	47	62	69	59	80	96	468		
4 year girl's course, Addis Ababa ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	114	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
1 year course, Addis Ababa ... ...	—	53	143	161	150	152	122	120	—	53	143	161	150	148	118	120	893		
Theological course, Addis Ababa ...	—	—	—	—	—	40	41	43	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	—	40		
Arts and Crafts course, Addis Ababa	—	29	30	30	30	37	13	19	—	29	30	30	30	30	34	—	153		
Asmara course ... ... ... ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	79	47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	20	20	
TOTALS ... ... ... ...	118	330	520	565	639	739	836	859	30	159	307	302	258	290	207	261	1,814		

Community Training is carried out at two centres: Majete and Debre Berhan (described in detail in "Ethiopia Observer," Volume I, No. 10; Volume II, Nos. 9 and 10 and Volume III, No. 1). Both started work in 1956-57. The annual number of students enrolled in the two institutions was as follows:

	1956-7	1957-8	1958-9	1959-60
Majete	30	39	36	34
Debre Berhan	84	189	206	160

Majete graduated 130 students between 1952 and 1960, Debre Berhan, 639.

The total number of students following Teacher Education and graduating each year is as follows:

	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
Students enrolled	118	330	520	590	799	1,014	1,149	1,048
Graduates ... ... ... ...	30	159	307	302	372	510	468	471



Over he goes: Sports Education in Ethiopia

The number of students graduating during the eight years from 1952 to 1960 was therefore 2,619.

#### Student Enrolment

The 180,163 students enrolled in Government Schools in 1959-60 represented a 7.94 per cent increase over the

previous year. The greatest increase occurred in Eritrea where it amounted to 23.27 per cent.; the increase in Addis Ababa was 12.57 per cent., while that of the schools in the 12 provinces was only 3.31 per cent.

The student enrolment in Government Schools of all levels has been as follows:

Location	Elementary		Academic Secondary		Technical and Vocational Secondary		Higher Institution		Total	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
ADDIS ABABA :										
1955-56	15,645	4,254	1,624	203	898	119	247	10	18,414	4,584
1956-57	19,996	5,785	1,839	254	1,128	159	309	7	23,272	6,205
1957-58	22,210	6,483	2,040	214	2,076	655	432	27	26,758	7,409
1958-59	22,027	6,844	2,139	290	2,229	826	523	44	26,918	8,006
1959-60	25,221	8,725	2,198	327	2,324	812	560	49	30,303	9,913
12 PROVINCES :										
1955-56	75,996	11,412	210	14	469	37	98	—	76,773	11,463
1956-57	93,229	12,211	455	14	833	50	157	—	94,674	14,275
1957-58	106,764	17,493	934	3	955	64	173	—	108,726	17,560
1958-59	110,695	19,351	1,750	5	1,119	80	237	—	113,801	19,436
1959-60	113,857	21,426	2,467	42	1,025	55	224	—	117,573	21,523
ERITREA :										
1955-56	17,727	3,655	263	—	160	32	—	—	18,150	3,687
1956-57	22,524	4,368	334	—	226	51	—	—	23,084	4,419
1957-58	21,918	5,051	618	29	214	72	—	—	22,750	5,152
1958-59	25,283	6,599	607	23	300	54	—	—	26,190	6,676
1959-60	31,382	8,220	608	29	297	49	—	—	32,287	8,298
EMPIRE TOTAL :										
1955-56	109,368	19,321	2,097	217	1,527	188	345	10	113,337	19,736
1956-57	135,749	24,361	2,628	268	2,187	260	466	7	141,030	24,899
1957-58	150,892	29,027	3,492	276	3,247	791	605	27	158,234	30,121
1958-59	155,005	32,794	4,196	318	3,648	960	760	44	166,909	34,116
1959-60	170,460	38,371	5,273	398	3,646	916	784	49	180,163	39,734

#### Percentage Rates of Growth

The annual rate of growth in Government Schools may be seen in the following tables:

	1956-7	1957-8	1958-9	1959-60
Schools				
Addis Ababa	8.57	10.52	9.52	4.34
12 Provinces	3.11	6.49	4.57	-0.68
Eritrea	10.15	-10.63	21.42	4.57
Empire Total	4.99	2.78	1.59	0.94
Classrooms				
Addis Ababa	22.46	9.52	5.47	15.41
12 Provinces	11.05	11.42	5.98	4.87
Eritrea	10.15	-0.70	19.0	6.24
Empire Total	12.53	8.73	8.24	6.78
Teachers				
Addis Ababa	12.55	12.76	28.41	-3.54
12 Provinces	12.53	13.89	6.81	4.14
Eritrea	27.31	3.46	18.97	4.69
Empire Total	15.33	11.14	13.31	2.35
Students				
Addis Ababa	26.38	14.97	0.59	12.57
12 Provinces	23.30	14.87	4.66	3.31
Eritrea	27.16	-1.45	15.12	23.27
Empire Total	24.43	12.97	5.48	7.94

The greatest expansion, it will be seen, occurred in school enrolment in Eritrea and to a somewhat less extent in Addis Ababa.

#### The Longer Perspective

The rate of growth over the longer post-war period may be seen from a slightly different set of figures prepared by Ato Girma Amare, B.A., B.Ed., M.Ed., formerly of the Ministry of Education Inspection Department, now of the University College of Addis Ababa, for the years 1944-45 to 1958-59:

Figures in brackets are for Ethiopia, excluding Eritrea after Federation.

\* Drop is due to the transfer of 98 schools from Government to Church administration.

\*\* Increase due to the inclusion of students in Eritrean Schools. The increase in schools, excluding Eritrea, for that year was 21.1 per cent.

Year	Schools	Teachers	Number of Students	Students : % Increase
1944-45	175	287	20,200	—
1945-46	260	409	33,000	63.4
1946-47	380	578	39,000	18.2
1947-48	390	683	42,000	7.7
1948-49	500	921	53,000	26.2
1949-50	540	1,087	59,700	12.6
1950-51	530	1,243	54,500	-8.7
1951-52	520	1,375	50,000	-8.3
1952-53	450*	1,544	(60,131) 72,815	45.6**
1953-54	455	1,541	(70,958) 86,518	18.8
1954-55	(435) 553	2,523	(80,625) 97,428	12.6
1955-56	(453) 581	(2,752) 3,228	(95,026) 113,294	16.3
1956-57	(469) 610	(3,117) 3,723	(111,832) 140,960	24.4
1957-58	(501) 627	(3,541) 4,168	(134,715) 158,234	12.2
1958-59	(484) 637	(3,927) 4,723	(140,719) 166,909	5.5
1959-60	(483) 643	(4,053) 4,834	(147,876) 180,163	7.9

#### The Position in the Various Provinces

The greatest number of Government Schools are to be found in Eritrea where, in 1959-60, there were 160 schools; Shoa, the province in which the capital is situated, comes

next with 74 schools; Begemder follows with 52, Addis Ababa itself with 48; Gojjam with 47, Arussi with 46, Wellega with 45, Illubabor with 35, Harar with 34, Sidamo with 32, Wollo with 31, Gamu Goffa with 18, Kaffa with 13

and Tigre with eight. Colleges are to be found in three areas: Addis Ababa, Harar and Begemder.

The position with regard to the number of teachers and the number of enrolled students is slightly different. There were 1,116 teachers employed in Addis Ababa, 781 in Eritrea, 610 in Shoa, 329 in Harar, 274 in Wollo, 274 in Arussi, 249 in Begemder, 224 in Gojjam, 215 in Wellega, 208 in Sidamo, 156 in Kaffa, 153 in Illubabor, 133 in Tigre, and 112 in Gemu Goffa. As far as the employment of foreign teachers were concerned Addis Ababa came first with 326, Harar next with 61, followed by Shoa with 37, Eritrea with 34, Begemder with 24 and Kaffa with 20.

Students enrolled in Government Schools were to be found in the following order: Eritrea 32,287, Addis Ababa 30,303, Shoa 29,118, Harar 12,185, Wellega 11,836, Arussi 9,967, Wollo 8,551, Begemder 8,478, Gojjam 8,436, Sidamo 8,299, Tigre 6,679, Illubabor 5,927, Kaffa 5,049 and Gemu Goffa 3,048. The largest number of girls at school are to be found in Addis Ababa where there were 9,913, followed by Eritrea with 8,298, Shoa 5,418, Harar 2,981, Begemder 2,248 and Wollo 2,173.

The overall educational picture by area may be seen still more clearly in the following Ministry of Education statistics for the various types of schools, Ethiopian and foreign teachers employed, and student enrolment in schools of all kinds:

#### NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN THE 12 PROVINCES, ADDIS ABABA AND ERITREA

Location	1-8		9-12		I-IV		13-16	Total
	Elementary	Secondary	Elementary	Secondary	Special Secondary	College		
Shoa	66	3	5	—	—	—	74	
Gojjam	46	1	—	—	—	—	47	
Wellega	43	1	1	—	—	—	45	
Arussi	45	1	—	—	—	—	46	
Harar	31	1	1	1	—	1	34	
Sidamo	31	1	—	—	—	—	32	
Begemder	48	1	2	1	—	—	52	
Tigre	7	1	—	—	—	—	8	
Wollo	30	1	—	—	—	—	31	
Gemu Goffa	17	1	—	—	—	—	18	
Illubabor	34	1	—	—	—	—	35	
Kaffa	11	1	1	—	—	—	13	
Total	309	14	10	2	—	435		
Addis Ababa	18	11	16	3	—	48		
Eritrea	154	3	3	—	—	160		
Empire Total	581	28	29	5	—	643		

#### GOVERNMENT SCHOOL TEACHERS BY NATIONALITY AND SEX

Location	Ethiopians		Foreigners		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Shoa	523	50	35	2	610
Gojjam	209	7	7	1	224
Wellega	197	9	5	4	215
Arussi	252	18	4	—	274
Harar	246	22	51	10	329
Sidamo	194	9	4	1	208
Begemder	208	17	17	7	249
Tigre	114	11	8	—	133
Wollo	245	19	7	3	274
Gemu Goffa	106	4	2	—	112
Illubabor	141	9	3	—	153
Kaffa	126	10	14	6	156
Total	2,561	185	157	34	2,937
Addis Ababa	643	146	228	99	1,116
Eritrea	629	118	28	6	781
Grand Total	3,833	449	413	139	4,834

#### STUDENT ENROLMENT IN THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOL

Location	Sex	Elementary		Second-ary	Special Second-ary
		Male	Female		
Shoa	Male	22,599	657	444	—
	Female	5,411	7	—	—
Gojjam	Male	6,789	221	—	—
	Female	1,420	6	—	—
Wellega	Male	10,609	112	9	4
	Female	1,098	4	4	—
Arussi	Male	8,337	234	—	—
	Female	1,396	—	—	—
Harar	Male	8,342	423	272	5
	Female	2,966	10	—	—
Sidamo	Male	7,199	65	—	—
	Female	1,035	—	—	—
Begemder	Male	5,979	147	47	—
	Female	2,201	1	46	—
Tigre	Male	4,627	244	—	—
	Female	1,806	2	—	—
Wollo	Male	6,189	189	—	—
	Female	2,163	10	—	—
Gemu Goffa	Male	2,723	35	—	—
	Female	290	—	—	—
Illubabor	Male	5,219	31	—	—
	Female	677	—	—	—
Kaffa	Male	3,819	67	198	—
	Female	963	2	—	—
Total	Male	16,496	2,425	970	—
	Female	8,725	42	55	—
Addis Ababa	Male	16,496	1,871	1,512	—
	Female	8,725	327	812	—
Eritrea	Male	23,162	579	248	—
	Female	8,220	29	49	—
Empire Total	Male	132,089	4,875	2,730	—
	Female	38,371	398	916	—

#### Examination Results

The Ethiopian educational system is based on two important examinations: the Eighth Grade Examination, which marks the successful completion of elementary school, and the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination which approximates very roughly to Matriculation and is the basis for College entry. The number of students taking and passing these examinations have increased considerably. In 1958, 4,548 students took the Eighth Grade Examinations and 1,832 passed; in 1959, 6,678 students entered for the examination and 2,749 were successful. The results for schools in the various regions were as follows:

#### EIGHTH GRADE EXAMINATION

	1958		% Pass	1959		
	Entered	Passed		Entered	Passed	
Addis Ababa	1,481	567	38.3	1,653	604	36.5
Shoa	681	455	66.8	885	314	35.5
Gojjam	279	96	34.4	376	128	34.0
Wellega	209	32	15.3	201	108	53.7
Arussi	262	145	55.3	368	159	43.2
Begemeder	565	161	28.5	753	305	40.5
Harar	178	24	13.5	327	179	54.7
Sidamo	99	82	82.8	141	90	63.8
Tigre	305	82	26.9	381	193	50.7
Wollo	269	130	48.3	308	94	30.5
Gemu Goffa	32	18	56.2	54	40	74.1
Illubabor	102	9	8.8	124	54	43.5
Kaffa	86	31	36.0	117	64	54.7
Eritrea	—	—	—	990	417	42.1
Total	4,548	1,832	40.3	6,678	2,749	41.2

The number of schools taking the School Leaving Certificate increased from eight in 1958-59 to 16 in 1959-60. During this period the number of candidates rose from 271 to 409 though the total number of passes actually fell from 184 to 167, possibly due to a higher standard of marking or insufficient preparation of the students for the examination.

Examination of detailed results in the various schools indicates that in 1958-59 the largest number of students entered for the examination in General Wingate School, Haile Sellassie Secondary School and the Medhane Alem School at Harar, the best results being obtained by the

Tafari Makonnen School, the General Wingate School and the Haile Sellassie I Secondary School, in that order. In 1959-60 General Wingate School, Tafari Makonnen School and Haile Sellassie I Secondary School, entered the largest number of candidates, while the highest number of passes were obtained by the Haile Sellassie I Secondary School, the General Wingate School and the Haile Sellassie I School in Asmara.

Results in 1958-59 were as follows:

School	Candi-dates	Passes			Compen-sation Pass*	Total Passes	% Passes
		Great Dis-tinc-tion	Dis-tinc-tion	Pass			
Empress Menen	22	—	—	5	3	8	36.36
General Wingate	77	2	5	42	12	61	79.22
Haile Sellassie I Day	17	—	1	8	2	11	64.70
Haile Sellassie I Secondary	46	—	1	27	8	36	78.26
Medhane Alem, Harrar	45	—	3	16	5	24	53.33
Menelik II	22	—	1	8	6	15	68.18
Tafari Makonnen	32	1	3	18	5	27	84.37
Theological School	8	—	—	2	—	2	25.0
Total	271	3	14	126	41	184	67.89

\* Based on compensation for failure in a single subject by good pass marks in the other four subjects.

Corresponding data for 1959-60 is as follows:

School	Candi-dates	Passes			Compen-sation Pass	Total Passes	% Passes
		Great Dis-tinc-tion	Dis-tinc-tion	Pass			
Haile Sellassie I Secondary	52	—	2	24	5	31	59.62
General Wingate	66	1	—	26	11	38	57.58
Haile Sellassie I Day	42	—	—	4	1	5	11.90
Tafari Makonnen	65	—	—	22	9	31	47.69
Menelik II	17	—	—	5	1	6	35.24
Empress Menen	24	—	—	9	—	9	37.5
Medhane Alem, Addis Ababa	20	—	—	6	3	9	45.0
Theological School	15	—	—	5	2	7	46.67
English School	2	—	—	—	—	—	0.
Medhane Alem, Harrar	31	—	—	5	8	13	41.94
Haile Sellassie I Armara	14	—	—	7	—	7	50.0
Prince Makonnen, Asmara	25	—	—	—	—	—	0.
Comboni College	2	—	—	—	—	—	0.
Evangelical Collège, Debre Zeit	12	—	—	3	2	5	41.67
Private Candidates	22	—	—	3	3	6	27.27
Commercial School	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	1	2	119	45	167	40.83

Five subjects must be offered at this examination: Amharic; English; Mathematics; Geography, History or French; General Science or a special branch of Science.

#### The Educational Pyramid and the "Fall Out"

Of the 180,163 Government students in the Empire 75.12 per cent are in primary grades, 5.41 per cent. in academic and special secondary schools, and 56 per cent. in institutions of higher education. In the last year there has been a substantial increase in middle, secondary and

higher education, coupled with a considerable decrease in the primary grades.

These developments may be illustrated by the following table showing pupil promotions during the last eight years in Government Schools in the Empire, excluding Eritrea. The promotion pattern of a year's students in any one grade will be seen by allowing the eye to travel from any one figure to the next but one to the right in the line below. The drop in the figure, which usually occurs, represents the "fall out" of students who do not continue their studies. This may be due to many causes, such as examination failure, inability to follow more difficult lessons, absence of schools with higher classes in the vicinity of some homes, desire to start earning, need to provide for parents, illness, etc. This "fall out" is, of course, partially offset by students who in any particular year, resume study after the first grade, the number in a given grade one year being for this reason sometimes greater than in the grade immediately lower in the previous year.

Though a certain "fall out" is inevitable and education can seldom be considered entirely wasted, the number of students failing to continue their studies represents a relative waste of the educational resources devoted to them, as well as a source of frustration on the part of students unable to fulfil their ambitions. The "fall out" in 1959-60 represented 48 per cent. of all students passing from the first year to the second, 21.8 per cent. of those passing from the second to the third, 25.2 per cent. passing from the third to the fourth, 22.3 per cent. passing from the fourth, 16.1 per cent. from the fifth and 12.6 per cent. from the sixth; repeaters preparing for the eighth grade examination caused the eighth grades to have 12 per cent. more students than the seventh, but failures in that examination led to a 31.1 per cent. "fall out" between the eighth grade and the ninth. "Fall out" in secondary schools was even higher than in elementary schools: 30.7 per cent. after the ninth grade, 27.7 per cent. after the tenth, 27.4 per cent. after the eleventh and 53.1 per cent. after the twelfth at the time of the School Leaving Certificate. In the first three years of higher education the "fall out" was 28.9 per cent., 20.4 per cent. and 33.6 per cent. respectively.

"Fall out" after the first year has of late been slightly reduced. It constituted 56.2 per cent. in 1953, 58.9 per cent. in 1954, 55.1 per cent. in 1955, 47.1 per cent. in 1956, 49.1 per cent. in 1957, 51.9 per cent. in 1958, and 48 per cent. in 1959.

The "fall out" at the time of the eighth grade examination, on the other hand, has only in the last year reached considerable proportions. It amounted to only 1.8 per cent. in 1953, 6 per cent. in 1956 and 7.9 per cent. in 1957, and was completely offset in 1954, 1955 and 1958 when the number of students in the first year of secondary were respectively, 28 per cent., 5 per cent. and 7 per cent. more than those in the eighth grade in the previous year.

The "fall out" at the end of secondary school has varied considerably from year to year but has grown of recent years. It was 56.8 per cent. in 1953, 69.3 per cent. in 1954, 32.7 per cent. in 1955, 42.3 per cent. in 1956, 45.7 per cent. in 1957, 47.5 per cent. in 1958 and 53.1 per cent. in 1959. Because of the steady growth in the student body these percentages refer of course to a substantially increasing number of students.

PUPIL PROMOTION IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS (EXCLUDING ERITREA)

School Year	Primary Schools				Middle Schools				Academic Secondary and Special Schools				Institutes of Higher Learning				Total Enrollment
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	
1952-53	29,821	11,645	6,860	4,040	2,375	1,734	1,095	849	705	470	261	176	57	21	22	—	60,131
1953-54	33,844	13,071	7,950	4,387	2,901	2,136	1,397	1,005	834	563	415	313	76	35	18	13	70,958
1954-55	40,571	14,749	8,930	5,183	3,266	2,285	2,606	1,241	1,283	576	456	278	96	55	39	11	80,625
1955-56	44,675	18,229	10,776	6,806	4,184	2,845	2,230	1,896	1,301	935	494	310	187	91	49	18	95,026
1956-57	52,632	23,619	13,877	8,579	5,192	3,965	2,700	2,361	1,783	1,150	740	468	179	167	79	41	117,832
1957-58	54,345	26,795	17,833	11,135	6,977	5,045	3,699	3,145	2,175	1,466	889	606	254	161	139	51	134,715
1958-59	50,381	26,165	19,466	12,983	8,643	6,039	4,775	4,270	3,379	1,922	1,263	673	318	172	143	127	140,719
1959-60	49,877	26,200	20,463	14,562	10,084	7,256	5,280	5,356	2,943	2,342	1,390	917	316	236	187	95	147,876*

\* H.I.M. Handicraft Schools' Enrollment is included in the total but not in the breakdown.

SIZE AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLMENT IN THE FOUR DIVISIONS OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS, EXCLUDING ERITREA

School Year	Primary Schools						Middle Schools						Academic Secondary and Special Schools						Institutes of Higher Education					
	Enrolment			% of Total Enrolment			Enrolment			% of Total Enrolment			Enrolment			% of Total Enrolment			Enrolment			% of Total Enrolment		
	M	F	M	F	Total	M	F	M	F	Total	M	F	M	F	Total	M	F	M	F	Total				
1952-53																								
E.C.—																								
1945	45,397	6,969	75.49	11.59	87.08	5,416	637	9.00	1.06	10.06	1,471	141	2.45	0.23	2.68	100	0	0.16	0	0.16				
1953-54																								
E.C.—																								
1946	52,744	8,508	74.33	11.99	86.32	6,610	829	9.31	1.16	10.48	1,923	202	2.71	0.28	2.99	142	0	0.20	0	0.20				
1954-55																								
E.C.—																								
1947	58,846	10,587	73.02	13.13	86.15	7,556	842	9.37	1.04	10.41	2,353	240	2.91	0.29	3.21	199	2	0.24	0	0.24				
1955-56																								
E.C.—																								
1948	66,089	14,397	69.54	15.15	84.69	9,886	1,269	10.40	1.33	11.73	2,659	381	2.79	0.40	3.19	335	10	0.35	0.01	0.36				
1956-57																								
E.C.—																								
1949	80,261	18,446	68.12	15.65	83.77	12,758	1,760	10.83	1.49	12.32	3,658	483	3.10	0.41	3.51	450	16	0.38	0.01	0.39				
1957-58																								
E.C.—																								
1950	88,584	21,524	65.76	15.97	81.73	16,414	2,452	12.18	1.82	14.00	4,664	472	3.46	0.35	3.81	578	27	0.43	0.02	0.45				
1958-59																								
E.C.—																								
1951	86,253	22,742	61.29	16.16	77.45	20,274	3,453	14.40	2.45	16.85	6,063	1,201	4.31	0.85	5.16	716	44	0.51	0.03	0.54				
1959-60																								
E.C.—																								
1952	85,620	25,482	57.89	17.23	75.12	23,307	4,669	15.76	3.15	18.91	6,778	1,236	4.58	0.83	5.41	735	49	0.53	0.03	0.56				

College Graduations

There are now almost 2,000 graduates from Colleges and Technical and Vocational Schools within the country. Of these 1,709 come from Technical and Vocational Schools and 267 from Colleges.

The Technical and Vocational Graduates are composed of Middle School teachers, as well as graduates from the Technical School, Agricultural Schools, the Trade School, the Commercial School, Schools of Nursing and the Public Health College at Gondar. Graduations in the last four years have been as follows:

	1956-7	1957-8	1958-9	1959-60	Total
Commercial School	40	25	55	82	202
Technical School	33	66	69	189	357
Trade School	89	101	88	86	364
Agricultural Schools	65	72	79	85	301
Middle School Teachers	78	69	89	121	357
Nursing Schools	—	23	17	26	66
Public Health Centre, Gondar	—	—	29	33	62
	305	356	426	622	1,709

Graduations from Institutions of Higher Education in the same period are as follows:

	1956-7	1957-8	1958-9	1959-60	Total
University College, Arts Faculty	24	25	35	9	93
University College, Science Faculty	6	2	1	1	10
Engineering College	—	7	12	19	38
Building College	—	—	11	7	18
Agricultural College	11	17	28	24	80
Secondary School Teachers	—	—	11	17	28
Totals	41	51	98	77	267

Orphanages and Schools for the Handicapped

There are at present eight Orphanages and Schools for the Handicapped. Five are of elementary status, namely the Princess Zenebe Work Memorial School, an orphanage which has 278 male and 70 female pupils; Her Imperial Majesty's Children's School, an orphanage mainly for handicapped children which has 62 girls and 25 boys; the Tinsae Berhan School for the Blind, with 95 girls and 55 boys; Her Imperial Majesty's Orphanage, with 62 boys and 42 girls, and the Merha Ewran School, an orphanage for blind children, with 63 boys. There are therefore at this level 487 boys and 269 girls, of whom 241 boys and 128 girls are in first grade, 66 boys and 44 girls in second grade, 45 boys and 34 girls in third grade, 49 boys and 28 girls in fourth grade. There is one secondary school in this category: the Merha Ewran Secondary School with 11 boys. In addition there is the Ethiopian Child Centre, a kindergarten with 17 boys and 14 girls, and the School of the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association with 545 boys and 317 girls.

Study Abroad

Ethiopian Ministry of Education records show that over 800 students are now at any one time studying abroad, the majority of them in the United States and Canada, the United Arab Republic, Germany, Italy, Lebanon and the United Kingdom. The break-down, as of March, 1958, and

March, 1960, is as follows, in order of number of students present in the countries listed in March, 1960:

Country	Number of Students March 1958	March 1960
U.S.A. and Canada	217	198
United Arab Republic	128	117
Germany	80	105
Italy	83	86
Lebanon	88	80
United Kingdom	77	57
France	33	37
Israel	27	31
India	35	31
Greece	9	12
Sweden	19	12
Yugoslavia	—	9
Japan	—	6
Austria	—	6
Czechoslovakia	—	5
Denmark	2	4
Sudan	4	2
Finland	2	2
Netherlands	—	1
Norway	2	1
Jordan	—	1
Tanganyika	1	1
Ghana	—	1
Haiti	—	1
Australia	6	1
Mexico	11	1
Portugal	—	1
Switzerland	5	—
Nigeria	1	—
Uganda	1	—
Belgium	1	—
	832	813

Most Ethiopian students abroad are in institutions of higher learning and technical colleges, as it is now the Government's policy to send students to other countries only when they have completed available courses within the country. There are, however, a significant minority of elementary and secondary school students who are exceptions to the rule, who have been sent abroad at the parents' expense or who have won scholarships from other sources.

The largest groups of students abroad are studying the social sciences, medical sciences, and engineering or belong to the elementary and secondary school class. The breakdown is as follows:

Field of Study	Number of Students March 1958	March 1960
Social Sciences	197	202
Engineering	143	110
Medical Sciences	101	91
Agriculture	58	77
Education	81	61
Humanities	34	60
Fine Arts	10	27
Natural Sciences	4	19
Military Sciences	7	9
Elementary and High School Education	178	122
Miscellaneous	39	35
	832	813

With the steady expansion and diversification of educational facilities within the country a slight drop in the number of students sent abroad may be discerned.

### The Returned Student

The number of students who have returned from study abroad is now increasing faster than ever before, the figure having jumped from 354 in March, 1958, to 686 in March, 1960. Almost a third of the returnees have come back from the United States and Canada, but there are also over 100 from both the United Kingdom and Lebanon, as well as some 70-odd from Germany. The number of returnees from the U.A.R., 28 in March, 1960, seems low compared

with the number of students studying in that country. The break-down is as follows:

Country	Number of Students March 1958	March 1960
U.S.A. and Canada	108	250
United Kingdom	94	124
Lebanon	37	117
Germany	38	74
India	16	29
United Arab Republic	9	12
Greece	5	10
Sweden	5	8
Italy	3	—
Sudan	—	8
Uganda	7	8
France	2	7
Australia	1	5
Belgium	1	1
Costa Rica	1	1
Norway	1	1
Ghana	—	1
Kenya	—	1
Nigeria	—	1
	354	686
Total		

### Haile Selassie I Scholarships for African Students

Well over 100 scholarships for students from other parts of Africa to study in Ethiopia have been awarded by the Emperor Haile Selassie under a scheme which is examined in greater detail in "Ethiopia Observer," Volume III, No. 3. Students come from no less than 13 African countries, namely Nigeria, Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, Liberia, Basutoland, Sudan, Ghana, Zanzibar, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Cameroons and Nyasaland. College level scholars are studying at four Ethiopian institutions: the University College, the Engineering College, the Building College and the Agricultural College.

The position in 1959-60 was as follows:

(Figures in brackets indicating additional scholars expected to arrive in the academic year 1960-61.)

Country of Origin	Total	University College	Engineering College	Building College	Agricultural College
Kenya	26(12)	16(7)	5(2)	—	5(3)
Nigeria	10(7)	7(4)	(3)	—	—
Tanganyika	13(1)	8(1)	4	—	1
Uganda	9(4)	5(3)	3(1)	1	—
Nyasaland	(6)	(5)	—	—	(1)
Liberia	3(2)	(1)	(1)	—	2(1)
Sudan	5	2	3	—	—
Ghana	4	3	—	—	1
S. Rhodesia	(3)	(3)	—	—	—
N. Rhodesia	(2)	(1)	—	(1)	—
Basutoland	1	1	—	—	—
S. Cameroons	(1)	(1)	—	—	—
Zanzibar	1	1	—	—	—
Total	84(38)	53(25)	20(8)	3(1)	8(4)

These figures do not include secondary school scholarships awarded by the Emperor, or Tanganyika students studying under United Nations scholarships made available by the Ethiopian Government.

### Education Finance

Ethiopian Government education is financed from three main sources: the Central Treasury, an Education Tax on provincial land, which was established in 1947, and Economic and Technical Assistance from abroad. During the last four years there has been a steady increase in allocations from the Central Treasury as well as from Economic and Technical Assistance Funds, but receipts from the Education Tax have remained static, or even dropped. Revenue from the Central Treasury in 1959-60 was thus 51.8 per cent. higher than four years earlier and Assistance receipts 85.7 per cent. higher, but Education Tax money had fallen by 27.8 per cent. The situation may be

seen in the following table, based on Ministry of Education statistics:

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE IN MILLIONS OF ETH. DOLLARS					
	1956-7	1957-8	1958-9	1959-60	Total
Central Treasury	11.2	14.4	19.6	17.0	62.2
Education Tax	5.4	5.2	5.4	3.9	19.9
Economic and Technical Assistance	2.8	2.4	3.0	5.2	13.4
Total	19.4	20.0	28.0	26.1	95.5

The share of the annual budget allocated to education may be seen in the following table based on data published by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry's "Economic Progress of Ethiopia" (1955), "Economic Handbook" (December, 1958) and "Economic Review" (June, 1960):

Year	Total Expenditure	Education Expenditure	% of Expenditure on Education
1942-3	26,809,000	692,000	2.6
1943-4	32,830,000	952,000	2.9
1944-5	42,349,000	1,697,000	4.0
1945-6	60,359,000	7,368,000	12.2
1946-7	67,809,000	7,472,000	11.0
1947-8	61,409,000	7,791,000	12.9
1948-9	69,072,000	9,365,000	13.6
1949-50	87,694,000	8,826,000	10.1
1950-1	96,998,000	9,207,000	9.5
1951-2	84,413,000	9,592,000	11.4
1952-3	103,119,000	10,055,000	9.7
1953-4	112,300,000	10,600,000	9.4
1954-5	122,700,000	10,700,000	8.7
1955-6	124,800,000	13,900,000	11.1
1956-7	144,900,000	15,500,000	10.7
1957-8	175,500,000	17,100,000	9.7
1958-9	197,800,000	19,400,000	9.8

The Ethiopian Five Year Plan (see "Ethiopia Observer," Volume III, No. 4) proposes certain modifications in the existing system of finance with a view to accelerating educational progress, particularly in the field of the primary school. It points out that nearly all elementary education in the provinces is financed from the proceeds of the Education Tax which is relatively static as it does not fall on the owners of urban property, which, in the course of economic development, is fast increasing in value. Elementary schools in Addis Ababa and secondary and higher institutions, on the other hand, are financed from treasury funds which are steadily rising.

Explaining the case for revision of these arrangements the planners argue:

1. That the revenue from the Education Tax is increasing only at "a very slow rate," and that since the development of nearly all elementary education depends on this it "will not expand as rapidly as it should, and, in consequence, a disparity between the lower and upper levels of the government school system will be developed."

2. "An examination of the financial position of all provinces shows that some provinces are less favourably placed than others. Hence the system of financing has created an inequality of educational opportunity among the provinces which will be more and more marked in future years."

3. "Urban property owners do not contribute to the cost of elementary education in spite of the fact that their children are the main beneficiaries since schools tend to be established in urban areas."

### Non-Governmental Schools

The following tables give data for Mission, Private, Church and Community Schools in respect of their number, number of classrooms, teachers and students, as well as the educational impact on the various provinces. (See also "Ethiopia Observer," Volume IV, Nos. 2 and 3.)

Location	NON-GOVERNMENTAL SCHOOLS			
	Mission	Private	Church	Community
12 Provinces				
1957-1958	...	81	26	—
1958-1959	...	72	19	50
1959-1960	...	78	24	60
Addis Ababa				
1957-1958	...	11	16	—
1958-1959	...	—	—	—
1959-1960	...	12	13	—
Eritrea				
1957-1958	...	—	—	—
1958-1959	...	—	—	—
1959-1960	...	60	41	—
Empire Total				
1957-1958	...	92	42	—
1958-1959	...	72	19	50
1959-1960	...	150	78	60

Location	NON-GOVERNMENTAL CLASSROOM UNITS			
	Mission	Private	Church	Community
12 Provinces				
1957-1958	...	364	52	—
1958-1959	...	357	42	57
1959-1960	...	391	58	83
Addis Ababa				
1957-1958	...	84	126	—
1958-1959	...	—	—	—
1959-1960	...	91	110	—
Eritrea				
1957-1958	...	—	—	—
1958-1959	...	—	—	—
1959-1960	...	291	265	—
Empire Total				
1957-1958	...	448	178	—
1958-1959	...	357	42	57
1959-1960	...	773	433	83

In the Mission Schools there are 498 men and 98 women Ethiopian teachers, and 119 men and 116 women foreign teachers.

In the Private Schools there are 119 men and 10 women Ethiopian teachers, and 143 men and 285 women foreign teachers.

In the Community Schools there are 130 men and 6 women Ethiopian teachers, and no foreigners.

The Church Schools listed by the Ministry employ 180 Ethiopian teachers, all men.



Telecommunications School, Addis Ababa

### NON-GOVERNMENTAL TEACHERS

Location	Sex	Mission	Private	Church	Community
12 Provinces					
1957-1958	Male	328	36	—	—
	Female	107	2	—	—
1958-1959	Male	311	32	184	68
	Female	94	—	1	4
1959-1960	Male	339	49	180	130
	Female	103	1	—	6
Addis Ababa					
1957-1958	Male	68	102	—	—
	Female	69	69	—	—
1958-1959	Male	—	—	—	—
	Female	—	—	—	—
1959-1960	Male	63	98	—	—
	Female	69	68	—	—
Eritrea					
1957-1958	Male	—	—	—	—
	Female	—	—	—	—
1958-1959	Male	—	—	—	—
	Female	—	—	—	—
1959-1960	Male	188	115	—	—
	Female	42	226	—	—
Empire Total					
1957-1958	Male	396	138	—	—
	Female	176	71	—	—
1958-1959	Male	311	32	184	68
	Female	94	—	1	4
1959-1960	Male	590	262	180	130
	Female	214	295	—	6

### NON-GOVERNMENTAL STUDENT ENROLMENT

Location	Sex	Mission	Private	Church	Community
12 Provinces					
1957-1958	Male	8,407	1,237	—	—
	Female	1,989	195	—	—
1958-1959	Male	7,481	1,627	3,876	2,054
	Female	1,941	193	493	211
1959-1960	Male	8,826	2,204	3,931	4,276
	Female	2,074	403	458	819
Addis Ababa					
1957-1958	Male	1,385	2,641	—	—
	Female	1,408	1,747	—	—
1958-1959	Male	—	—	—	—
	Female	—	—	—	—
1959-1960	Male	1,341	1,868	—	—
	Female	1,644	1,205	—	—
Eritrea					
1957-1958	Male	—	—	—	—
	Female	—	—	—	—
1958-1959	Male	—	—	—	—
	Female	—	—	—	—
1959-1960	Male	4,782	5,838	—	—
	Female	1,830	3,272	—	—
Empire Total					
1957-1958	Male	9,792	3,878	—	—
	Female	3,397	1,942	—	—
1958-1959	Male	7,481	1,627	3,876	2,054
	Female	1,941	193	493	211
1959-1960	Male	14,949	9,910	3,931	4,276
	Female	5,548	4,880	458	819

### NON-GOVERNMENTAL STUDENT ENROLMENT BY PROVINCES

Location	Sex	Mission Schools	Private Schools	Community Schools	Church Schools
Shoa	Male	457	28	297	191
	Female	155	6	136	36
Gojjam	Male	87	—	404	—
	Female	17	—	137	—
Wellega	Male	860	478	—	—
	Female	226	63	—	—
Arussi	Male	2,031	717	628	1,029
	Female	183	97	88	150
Harar	Male	1,513	—	120	434
	Female	748	—	39	98
Sidamo	Male	2,637	—	853	—
	Female	371	—	51	—
Begemder	Male	161	—	329	—
	Female	109	—	90	—
Tigre	Male	81	—	—	—
	Female	30	—	—	—
Wollo	Male	196	239	570	2,247
	Female	101	156	105	174
Illubabor	Male	37	99	302	—
	Female	4	15	17	—
Gemu Goffa	Male	297	—	430	30
	Female	49	—	97	—
Kaffa	Male	368	196	343	—
	Female	59	32	97	—
Total	Male	8,725	2,204	4,276	3,931
	Female	2,052	403	819	458
Addis Ababa	Male	1,324	1,792	—	—
	Female	1,601	1,150	—	—
Eritrea	Male	4,413	5,297	—	—
	Female	1,808	2,990	—	—
Empire Total	Male	14,462	9,283	4,276	3,931
	Female	5,461	4,543	819	458

There are some 17 Mission and Private Secondary Schools in the Empire, including Eritrea.

Mission Secondary Schools comprise the Swedish Mission Teachers' Training School in Tigre with 18 boys and two girls in the secondary grades, the Nazareth School, Addis Ababa, with 43 girls, St. Joseph's School, Addis Ababa, with 17 boys, Camboni College, Eritrea, with 304 boys and 21 girls, Dekmare School in Eritrea, with 91 boys and one girl, Asmara School, Eritrea, with 46 boys and the Ethiopian Evangelical School, in Shoa, with 83 boys and 20 girls. There are thus 487 boys and 87 girls taking secondary studies in Mission Schools. Private Secondary Schools comprise the English School, Addis Ababa, with 38 boys and 25 girls, the Special English School, where some vocational training is given, with 13 boys and nine girls, the American School, Addis Ababa, with six boys and eight girls, the German School, Addis Ababa, with nine boys and nine girls, the Italian School, Addis Ababa, with ten boys and four girls, the Licheyo Scientifico, Eritrea, with 70 boys and 42 girls, the Aviamento Professionale, Eritrea, with 196 boys and 156 girls, the Dekmare School with 50 boys and six girls, and the F. da Vinci School, Eritrea, with 16 boys. A total of 617 boys and 337 girls are thus attending secondary classes in Private Schools.

### Targets

Besides the general need for the widest possible level of literacy and culture the Ethiopian economy requires a considerable number of specialists in every field. The Five Year Plan attempted to foreshadow these requirements by calculating the number of experts and other trained personnel available in 1956 and estimating the probable number who would be needed in the five year period 1957, as can be seen in the following tables:

### PERSONS WITH DEGREES

	Available	Estimated additional requirement 1957-1961
Administration	400	150-200
Banks	53	30-40
Commerce	50	20-30
Total	503	200-270
Manufacturing Industry	20	50-70
Mining	10	20-30
Electricity	10	15-20
Transport	25	15-20
Construction	20	40-50
Total	85	155-210
Agriculture and Forestry	25	80-100
Education	200	80-120
Health	152	85-100
Grand Total	965	600-800

### TECHNICIANS

	Available	Estimated additional requirement 1957-1961
Administration	1,500	400-500
Banks	220	100-150
Commerce	1,000	150-200
Total	2,720	650-850
Manufacturing Industry	400	600-800
Mining	100	200-300
Electricity	120	150-200
Transport	55	100-150
Construction	40	100-150
Total	715	1,150-1,600
Agriculture and Forestry	90	400-500
Education	650	800-1,000
Health	368	300-400
Grand Total	4,543	3,300-4,350

(Continued at the foot of page 73)

# Rehabilitation in Ethiopia

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Rehabilitation is a concept which is at once both old and new. All through the ages, man, having found himself with a disability which debarred him from following the same trade and pattern of living as his companions, has sought to overcome his disability by modifying his mode of life, and in some outstanding examples, to use his disability as a stepping stone to a new life and to improving his standard of living. The determination which men like Franklin D. Roosevelt have exercised in overcoming their personal handicaps has been the motivating power which has carried them forward into a new life.

It is only, however, as so often occurs in the field of medicine, that paradoxically a war which destroys also brings to the foreground the need for medical and social changes which will conserve and improve life. It is thus only in the last two decades that world public opinion has become focused on the need of rehabilitating a large number of people who, through no fault of their own, are maimed and very often, because of their maiming, destitute. Society had hitherto been content to relegate

such physical wrecks to the slag heap of humanity. It never stopped to consider that under the tremendous pressures of economic forces, those with a disability had any part to contribute to the national wealth. Instead, it was content, without realizing it, to allow such unproductive members of their society to be a drain upon the very economy which they were so feverishly endeavouring to build.

Now, it has come to be realized that the economist's statistics are built up of the energy and enterprise of each individual unit within their country, and that money invested in the rehabilitation of the previously unproductive cripple, will repay a dividend which will be as large financially as in terms of human happiness.

Christians in Ethiopia have always been known for their generosity in the giving of alms, and the overseas visitor is constantly struck by the frequency with which small gifts are handed to necessitous persons. This national

(continued on page 74)

## EDUCATIONAL REPORT

(Continued from page 72)

The Five Year Plan, in its conclusion, argues that "the two most important conditions of economic progress are the availability of capital and skill. It seems almost certain that the scarcity of the latter is the more acute. A complex plan which aims at the growth and diversification of the whole economy needs for its fulfilment a growing number of able personnel of diverse skills to man the various sectors of the economy. There is therefore a clear need to meet both present and future skill requirements of an expanding economy. Hence the necessity to appraise and assess the appropriateness and the adequacy of the established degree-level and technical-level institutions whose output will be employed in the various sectors of the economy.

The institutions which are concerned with the final products in their effort to meet the growing needs of the Ethiopian economy and administration will place a growing demand for students upon the lower levels of the school system, including the middle schools and academic secondary schools. Since all the school levels which deal with higher education are inter-dependent there is an obvious need to expand all levels of the school system in such a way as to avoid bottlenecks in any part of the system. The limited available resources should therefore be distributed among all levels in order to achieve a balanced growth of the whole edifice of higher education. Special factors which limit the growth of each and every level should be carefully assessed and measures taken to remove bottlenecks.

"There is a need to extend primary education to a growing number of children and to work out the most appropriate kind of primary schools for those who will not have the opportunity to continue their studies to the

middle and secondary schools. In this sphere the limiting factors are teacher supply and financial support. Financial support for the extension of primary education will be limited for some time to come. Having regard to the size of the Government's budget and that portion of the budget which can reasonably be devoted to educational expansion it will be some time before every boy and girl of school-going age is able to attend the primary schools. The growth of primary education will therefore depend on the growth of the budgetary revenue which in turn depends on the growth of the national income. Secondly, the major part of the educational budget will have to be diverted to the expansion of the institutions concerned with higher education, including middle and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning, if the present and future needs for skilled personnel are to be met; more provision for higher education will mean less provision for primary education. Thirdly, since a large part of elementary education is financed out of the proceeds of a special kind of land tax, in which urban property is exempted, the funds for the extension of elementary education are limited and unequally borne. Should this system of financing elementary education be retained the obvious solution is to extend the cost of elementary education to owners of urban property. Fourthly, provincial funds depending as they do on land yield increase only very slowly, thus hampering the progressive expansion of elementary education in the provinces."

Since the above words were written there has been greater interest also in the idea of establishing community schools on the basis of at least partial local initiative on the lines discussed in "Ethiopia Observer," Volume II, No. 11 and Volume IV No. 12.

The need to expand Ethiopian education remains a No. 1 priority.

characteristic of generous benefaction naturally tends to bring the problems of the disabled into greater prominence, for as the streets of London were once reputed to be paved with gold, so in the same way, there is a natural attraction for such people to come to the capital city.

Many of these cripples, however, did not initially come for the purpose of soliciting alms. When at first crippled by poliomyelitis or other disease, their immediate concern was to seek hospital treatment. By realizing their small reserves of wealth and turning their saleable property into money, they made the long and sometimes, arduous trip to seek help in the metropolis. Too often, however, like the woman of the Gospels who "had spent all that she had, and was nothing better, but rather grew worse," they find themselves bereft of any means of support and of any way of returning to their own part of the country and to their friends and relatives.

#### Kolfé Rehabilitation Centre

About 13 years ago, the then Governor of Addis Ababa (Dejazmatch Kebede Tessema) obtained a piece of land on the outskirts of the city near the suburb of Kolfé, and laid the foundation for the present Rehabilitation Centre. A large compound now houses some 1,000 men, women and children.

On entering the gate from the north, the long, low, brick building which houses the administrative offices and the school and medical section, is immediately obvious. To the left of this, two very large buildings which have been partitioned internally for rehabilitation purposes, are filled



Poliomyelitis caused severe disability for this youngster now in the Ethio-Swedish Paediatric Clinic

with men and women engaged in carpet-making, cotton-cleaning, spinning and weaving, as well as leather-work, furniture-making and the traditional basketry of Ethiopia.

Separated from these buildings by a large tract of ground which is used for recreation and market gardening, are the living quarters of the residents of this Centre. All of the children and some of the adults, live in large dormitories, but for many there are individual houses in the traditional Ethiopian building materials, where family life is possible for the more permanent members of this community. A large kitchen for the making of "injira" is nearing completion, though it is already in full daily use. By the kindness of a generous donation, the Building College of Addis Ababa is starting to erect a smokeless kitchen for the cooking of the "wut," the highly spiced food which accompanies the usual injira or bread. One of the largest buildings has been set aside as a dining hall for the children, who are mostly orphans, and as a recreation room for all of the inhabitants. Film shows are held here every week, as are adult literacy classes. With the help of interested friends, a small library has been started.

A tour of the Centre leaves one with a two-fold impression of the tremendous amount of work which has been done already, and of the equally tremendous proportion which still has to be undertaken.

#### The School

Dejazmatch Zewde Gabre Salassie, the immediate past Lord Mayor, was responsible for inaugurating the Social Service Committee, as a body of voluntary workers interested in the centre and other social questions. He was specially concerned for the welfare of the children, and himself started to employ one or two of the blind men on the compound who could teach the children to read and write. This first attempt at a school has gradually grown and has been recently reorganised by some University College students under the guidance of the Dean of Arts. Regular grading has been introduced with a full time-table in all subjects, and a healthy proportion of time spent on the volley-ball and football fields as well as in the school gardens. So popular indeed has this school become, that it is now accepting pupils from the surrounding area who do not live in the compound normally. The Ministry of Education has given considerable help, and is now considering integrating it within its own services.

Pre-school children are being helped by U.N.I.C.E.F. with extra milk, vitamins and soap, but there is an obvious need to expand this by the introduction of a kindergarten school. This, the educational sub-committee of the Social Service Association is actively considering.

The alert, eager, intelligent faces of the 300 children attending this school, testify to the fact that although orphans or children of disabled persons, they are in no sense inferior intellects, but are rather ready to grasp the opportunity of fitting themselves for adult life and playing a full part in the economy of their country. This applies as much to the healthy as to those children who are themselves cripples.

#### The Medical Centre

The normal daily health needs of this community are met by an advanced dresser, appointed by the Ministry of Public Health, who lives on the compound and conducts



Without leg-irons this polio boy could not even stand

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clinics three times a day. He also cares for those who are confined to bed by illness, especially for the aged and infirm who number nearly one-third of the total residents. A Pediatrician visits the centre every week to advise on the health of the children, and an Ethiopian doctor also attends and supervises the general medical programme on a voluntary basis during his limited spare time from one of the large Addis Ababa hospitals.

### Surgical Reconstruction

Two surgeons from the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital have been endeavouring to classify and start to treat the many cripples in the compound. The majority of these have a peculiar form of locomotion in that they have severe contraction of the leg muscles and are unable to stand upright. Forced to squat on the ground and sit on either their heels or their buttocks, they traditionally fashion for themselves little hand rests, usually made of wood, like truncated knuckle dusters, which they place on the ground and, lifting themselves up on their arms, the completely contracted hips and knees and feet are then swung through the space between the arms, and the individual literally walks on his buttocks and two hands. When one of the surgeons first went out to view the centre, the cripples were asked to congregate in one place, but mistaking the true venue, they congregated about 100

yards away. It was indeed pathetic to see about a dozen such disabled persons racing along on hands and buttocks in an endeavour to be first for examination.

Many of these proved to be cases of long standing which required very extensive surgery in order to straighten their limbs. Poliomyelitis has indeed played a large part in the production of these cases, but it became obvious that this was not the case for all. A large number, on examination, were found to have strong muscles which had, however, grown shorter during some prolonged illness such as jaundice, due to hepatitis. At the altitude of 7,000 to 9,000 feet, the Ethiopian nights are often cold and the patients tend to curl themselves up under their coverings in order to conserve heat; an attitude adopted during the day as well in sickness. This permits the strong groups of flexor muscles to contract and to shorten. It is for this reason that physicians and surgeons, during the course of ordinary illness, now insist on early mobilization of the patient and, if they cannot be got out of bed, on all of the joints of the body being regularly exercised. Those who have not had recourse to modern medicine, however, find that after a prolonged illness the muscles have so contracted that they are unable to extend themselves. It is this group of patients on whom a spectacular success has been possible by surgical measures in straightening out their limbs. Already, after only a few months, some of these cripples



The beginnings of the Workshop for the Disabled

have left the Centre and returned to their own area, fit and able to live a normal life, and others have entered the rehabilitation section of the Centre.

The two surgeons concerned have been bringing some of the cripples, a few at a time, into the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital. There they have undertaken the surgery required, as well as investigated the cause of these diseases. As early as possible after the actual operation has been undertaken, the patients are returned to the Medical Centre on the compound. Here, some accommodation has been put apart for men and women who, for the most part, are lying in plaster of paris casts. The dresser supervises the daily care of these patients and two British nursing sisters are voluntarily giving two afternoons a week to ensure that these, and the other cripples in the centre, are undertaking the exercises they require. These exercises are designed to build up their muscles, for reconstructive surgery and rehabilitation should go hand in hand. There should be no period where one stops and the other starts. Rehabilitation is a process of retraining of both mind and body so that the muscles which have forgotten how to work relearn their old tricks and learn new ones. The tendons and joints which have become stiff from disuse commence again a normal life's work. It is as important for the surgeon that the patient be undergoing the course of training for his muscles, whether in the rehabilitation centre or the physiotherapy unit, as it is for the superintendent of the rehabilitation workshop, that the workers' limbs should be made as normal and effective as possible. There can be no divorce between the two parts of rehabilitating the whole man.

#### **The Kolfé Rehabilitation Workshops**

The Rehabilitation Workshops at Kolfé have been the special project of the Social Service Committee, although they have naturally interested themselves in the whole work of the Centre. Various teachers have been employed by the Society for the purpose of training. The products from such enterprises have been sold at competitive prices through the means of a shop near the centre of the town. This building, kindly placed at the Society's disposal by the Municipality, lies near to the fruit market and just below the Abunna Petros monument. Here, shamas, furniture, leather and basket work are already available and will soon be augmented by carpets and other things, such as woodcraft, as the rehabilitation programme continues to expand.

Carpet-making is one of the recent introductions to the rehabilitation workshops at Kolfé. A full-time teacher has been employed and a number of women have already started their training on the large loom obtained. Working in teams together, they are becoming exceedingly deft with their handling of the wool, following the complex pattern with accuracy.

The traditional methods of cleaning, spinning and carding the cotton occupy a considerable number of especially the older women folk. This is for the most part sedentary occupation and even permits them to look after the many young children to be found on the compound. It is not unusual to see a woman spinning cotton with a baby strapped on her back. Singer's Sewing Classes have been started for the younger women, and already a group of eight are well on the way to gaining the coveted Singer's Diploma.

It has, however, been the men's task, from time immemorial, to weave the finished cotton into cloth which is characteristically a shama, which is a double weave, further folded on itself to give four thicknesses of cloth. Many are the beautiful and elaborate designs which decorate the edges of these shamas and make for gay and colourful pictures in any scene involving Ethiopian men or women. With one of the colourful bands worn over the shoulder, against the white background of the rest of the shama, the Ethiopian women are especially attractive. Quite a number of weavers are found among the residents of the Centre and therefore it has not been necessary to employ any teacher for the purpose of training. They have only asked for the opportunity to follow their traditional craft, and this section of the rehabilitation programme is already assuming the aspect of a sheltered workshop.

For other men, especially of the older age group, string making from the tough fibre available on the market has occupied many. This string is tightly woven by hand and is then used by some of the younger men-folk to bind onto a wooden frame for the making of chairs and settees. These are very popular for this brand of chairs are very comfortable and cool during the heat of the day. With judicious dyeing of some of the string to form patterns contrasting with the natural light buff colour of the rest of the string work, the furniture is indeed attractive and sells well on the open market.

A recent innovation for the men-folk has been the employment of the full-time leather-work trainer. This enthusiastic individual has already collected a band of crippled men who are producing belts and leather bags and even shoes, of an astonishingly high quality. Several of his trainees are men who have lost a leg or whose two legs are bent and deformed, and one, indeed, has just left hospital after three years of treatment for tuberculosis of the spine. They had a natural interest in helping with the leather work required for the making of crutches in conjunction with the appliance workshop for the disabled.

These various training programmes are intended primarily as rehabilitation of those who have been disabled, and this in order that they may step back into society, preferably in their own rural community or a similar community. There they will maintain themselves, not as an economic drag upon the rest of the population, but as those who, with a new craft or trade, can contribute considerably to the well-being of their fellows. The efforts to sell their products at competitive prices on the open market, has a two-fold aim of stimulating them to a normal and adequate level of production and also to provide for the time when they will be able to leave the Centre. Since the Municipality's budget for the vendor provides for necessities, but no luxuries, 50 per cent. of the individual trainee's earnings from the sale of their produce is given to them directly, and 50 per cent. is banked in their name so that they will at least have a small reserve of money, to be augmented if necessary by other voluntary donations, when they come to leave the Centre.

#### **Workshop for the Disabled**

It was soon apparent to those examining both the Kolfé cripples and also the disabled in other walks of life, that there was a tremendous need for the establishment of a workshop to make appliances to aid those who could not

be perfectly restored to full health by reconstructive surgery and physiotherapy. Many of the disabled indeed need some form of appliance during the reconstructive phase of their rehabilitation. Children with poliomyelitis, who are now coming to the Ethio-Swedish Paediatric clinic in increasing numbers, very often require walking leg-irons after the initial phase of surgery. Others require exercises under water, and a special head and back rest has been devised for babies, who can thus use the ordinary household bath for these exercises. To mobilize the many adults and even children who must be placed in plaster after orthopaedic operations to correct their deformities, it is necessary to have a good supply of well-made crutches so that they can learn again the art of walking. For those whose disability is so great that it will never permit of their walking again wheel-chairs of a rugged and strong design offer an opportunity of resuming normal social contact with their fellows and of allowing them to proceed to a rehabilitation centre to teach their fingers a new trade and a new means of support for themselves. All these needs have become of paramount importance for those with whole limbs, but there is still a large number of men and women who by disease or accident have already lost one or more of their limbs, and who all too often by this fact alone, are debarred from obtaining employment in a normal way. To provide these ill-fated folk with a simple wooden leg would be a boon and a benefit out of all consideration of the minor cost involved.

It is against this background of urgent need that the concept of a Workshop for the Disabled arose. As the realization of both the need and the possibility of meeting it, more and more individuals and groups became interested. The late Miss Sylvia Pankhurst gave the first contribution of money from her own personal funds for the commencement of this project, and then characteristically gave it her fullest moral support. Indeed, one of the last letters she wrote and the last conversation she had with her family, were about this very project.

Since then, the Rotary Club of Addis Ababa has promised the sum of 7,000 Ethiopian dollars (£1,000) for the purchase of equipment and an initial supply of material for the actual making of artificial wooden legs. The Sudan Interior Mission, who have had a highly qualified Ethiopian carpenter, Ato Adimasu, working with them for some ten years, kindly agreed to release him especially for this work. The Social Service Association, with many other calls upon their budget, have guaranteed this carpenter's salary for the first year and he has indeed started in a small room kindly set apart by the Administration of the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital. H.E. Ato Abebe Retta, the Minister of Public Health, has warmly welcomed the project and has agreed to the erection of a permanent workshop on the hospital compound.

It is important that such a workshop should be associated with a General Hospital, where orthopaedic surgery and physiotherapy are undertaken, for the appliance maker, ward sister, physiotherapist, and orthopaedic surgeon together form a team in the reconstructive phase of rehabilitation.

The World Health Organization has arranged, at the invitation of the Minister of Public Health, for a short visit from an orthopaedic surgeon who several years ago started such a workshop in the Congo, and who is able to give first-hand information on the technicalities involved.

J. E. Hanger and Co., of Roehampton, England, have already given much valuable information and advice.

To those working in this field, there is the intense excitement of new prospects and possibilities as well as the daily challenge of the yet unmet problems to solve. Even the patients themselves are anticipating and sharing these problems, and especially in other walks of life, are contributing from their own skills and knowledge to the solution of some of the little mechanical problems that arise. The engineers at the ammunition factory have already done much on the metallurgical side of orthopaedic appliances and are ready and eager to do more.

### The Future

At present it is but the ones and the twos for whom reconstructive surgery and rehabilitation have given for the life of crippledom, the life of freedom. These forerunners have, however, demonstrated that it is possible to take a disabled beggar and make him into a useful and contributing member of society. It is imperative that this work should grow, and that both phases of reconstructive surgery and rehabilitation should go hand in hand. The rehabilitation workshop at Kolfé is about to enter upon a period of expansion, and other plans are about to be published, but they must not be allowed to outstrip the reconstructive surgical facilities. It is of the utmost necessity that more convalescent beds should be available on a pavilion basis for men, women and children, who have undergone surgical reconstruction. These should be in association with the projected Workshop for the Disabled.

Not only should there be an easy access to the necessary appliances, but also in association with such a unit, there should be facilities for physiotherapy, for the teaching of children who undergo a long period in hospital, and for an occupational therapist, whose work will be co-ordinated with the training to be given in the Rehabilitation Centre after discharge from the convalescent unit. Further, there must be facilities for the medical follow-up of those discharged from the convalescent unit, and for the interview and examination of those disabled seeking treatment, even though that treatment be given in the surgical department of a General Hospital.

The Physiotherapy Department of such a unit would be ideally placed in respect of clinical material for undertaking a School for Physiotherapists in Ethiopia. Such training in both its curative and preventive aspects is an urgent requirement. It has been demonstrated that some, at least, of these deformities are acquired during long and protracted illnesses, and are easily preventable by simple therapeutic measures. So the training of a corps of physiotherapists in Ethiopia should become a priority in Public Health and Preventive Medicine.

The teaching of children in hospital is now accepted as an integral part of their overall treatment. Many a child, disabled by bone or joint tuberculosis, has found that the enforced stay in hospital has given him educational opportunities in advance of his healthy contemporaries, and has allowed him to compensate in intellectual attainments, what he has missed in the physical realm. Education in Ethiopia is so eagerly sought and of such inestimable value, that such a convalescent unit that is dreamed of for the not too distant future, must have an educationalist going from bed to bed supervising the work of the invalid scholars.

It is possible in the work of the occupational therapist, that the closest correlation will be obtained between the reconstructive surgery and the rehabilitation centre. Hers will be the opportunity of assessing the potentialities of the patient in terms of productive capacity, and of the training most easily started from the time of convalescence in bed in the long-term rehabilitation of the individual. Such work is not merely for the sake of occupation of the mind while the body recovers, but rather, occupation of the whole body, so that the period of rehabilitation later at the centre may be appreciably shortened, and the time when the patient becomes an economically valuable unit appreciably nearer.

### Finance

Voluntary gifts, both of time, talent and money, have enabled the work to proceed so far. Men and women in all walks of life have given of themselves and their substance to help meet this social and economic problem. With the backing of the Ethiopian Government and other official sources, not a little has been accomplished. It is evident, however, that if there is to be a major break-through in the fields of reconstructive surgery and of rehabilitation, vastly bigger sums of money will be required. The work-

shop for the disabled will have to be housed in an adequate building, pavilions erected for the convalescent beds for men, women and children, a new physiotherapy department with a swimming pool for the hydro-therapeutic treatment of children with poliomyelitis, will be required. Funds must be available so that the products of the workshop for the disabled may be given at a low cost, or free, to those who may be unable to pay for its products. A schoolteacher and an occupational therapist employed, and a school for physiotherapists commenced. The rehabilitation workshops must be expanded with the employment of more teachers and with a possible subsidy of a separate sheltered workshop. Those who follow through the course of training in their new trade must be assisted to establish themselves in a new community, which they can serve with their new skill. These various facets of reconstruction and rehabilitation are a charge upon each of us, and not merely upon those with medical or social welfare training. This problem, we can all help to solve, whether our gifts be in terms of material or time or money.

Details will be found elsewhere in this issue of the newly established Fund for the Disabled, which is especially intended to help in meeting this need for reconstructive and rehabilitative services. The late Miss Sylvia Pankhurst



The first Ethiopian Parliament to be elected by full adult suffrage of both sexes, elected 1957. Photo shows joint session of elected Chamber of Deputies, and appointed Senate

literally gave her life for the maimed, the destitute, and the forgotten. Just one week before her death, some of her friends on the Social Service Committee gently chided her for spending her own money on such elemental necessities as soap for the destitute, when such might have been avail-

able from other sources. With all the old fire and vigour of which she was so well capable, she drew herself up, and with withering scorn, said: "I don't know how long I have to live, but while others are deprived and I have the means, I will give."



Historic moment in the History of the Ethiopian Woman: the election of Woizerwo Seneñu Gabru as Vice-Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies in 1957

# Tanganyika and its Self-Government

GEORGE S. MAGOMBE

Tanganyika Student—at the University College of Addis Ababa

Tanganyika is an East African territory with boundaries with Uganda and Kenya to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, the Central African Federation and Portuguese East Africa to the south, and the Congo to the west. Like many other African countries, it is a territory with many races, the predominant, however, being African.

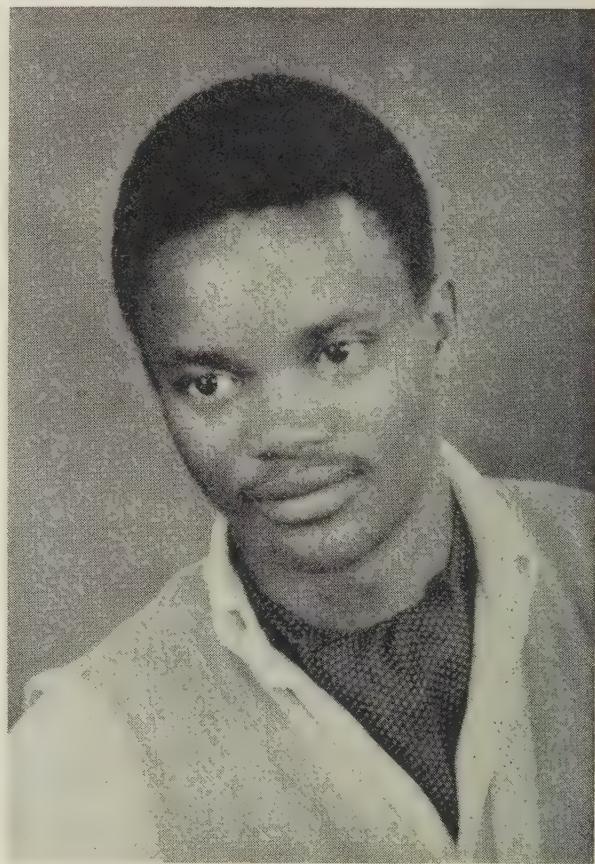
## The Inhabitants Of Tanganyika

A general survey of the people who inhabit Tanganyika today is essential to understand the problems that confronted the territory on its path to independence. The social, political and economic problems of the territory are revealed in the history of its people. The origins of the people of Tanganyika are historical facts which have been brought to us through the machinery of research. It is debatable, in some quarters of the world, who is the owner of a particular country. Some Europeans in the Southern States of the U.S.A. advise the American negroes to pack up and return to their original homeland, forgetting that the homeland of most of the "white" Americans is Europe! The Boers in the Union of South Africa claim an even greater right to South Africa than that of the Bushmen, Hottentots, Bantus and Coloureds. The question becomes complicated—it becomes that of who came first; "the chicken or the egg?" All this argument comes about as a result of the race-migrations which have determined the present distribution of mankind.

The earliest peoples in Tanganyika were probably bushmanoid—and isolated group-remnants remain today near Lake Eyasi. At some early period the great state of Azania, with stone cities and roads, existed in Eastern, and perhaps right down to what is now called Central Africa. Then came wave after wave of differing African peoples: in the main Bantu, but also perhaps Hamitic, and definitely Nilo-Hamitic peoples from the north—from the valley of the Upper Nile and perhaps even from Ethiopia. All these African peoples intermarried as the migration continued. This is why it is now nearly impossible to piece together the migration sequences and patterns.

As to which race the claim of the ownership of a country rightly goes, four factors to my mind have to be considered: the natural environment, time, political boundaries and "acceptance."

The indigenous people of a country have physical characteristics which are adapted to their physical environment. The indigenous people of Tanganyika have physical characteristics which make them live with ease in the country. They have loose pores and numerous



George S. Magombe

sweat glands adapted to great heat and humidity. They have black pigmentation for protection against excessive solar radiation, and they have oval hair with curved roots—woolly, curly or kinky hair—because of the loose texture of their skin.

The time element is also an important factor in the determining who is a native of a particular country. Migration is a world-wide phenomenon; there have been migrations nearly everywhere in the world. The question of "first come, first served," arises, and the first people to migrate into a particular country should have the right of possession of that country. The Africans were the first to migrate into Tanganyika and to form the various tribes that live in the territory.

Acceptance is an important factor too. Races other than those of African origin have been recognised as being Tanganyikans because the indigenous people of the territory have accepted them as Tanganyikans. This acceptance comes about through good mutual understanding in the entire country.

All the above factors would have no meaning at all if the creation of political boundaries had not put the finishing touch to the task of defining the national extent of the country. A people of any certain country are recognized by the boundaries of their country.

For many years, Tanganyika had been a country of many tribes. At present there about 120 tribes living in Tanganyika. In addition to the above tribes, the territory has minority groups from Asia and Europe who have come to Tanganyika to settle.

### **The German Rule**

Before the Germans came to Tanganyika, each of the tribes was under a different chief. The chief had absolute power, and he was in many cases the "head of the state" as well as the "head of the government." In 1884, Dr. Karl Peters and his party began actively making treaties with the chiefs, and in 1889 a German Protectorate was officially proclaimed. Tanganyika, until it was taken over by the British, was known as German East Africa.

German rule may be divided into three phases : The first, was that of colonisation and rebellions ; the second, of an attempt to develop the country ; and the third, of the First World War.

The period of colonisation and rebellions lasted from 1884 to 1907. It was a period of bloodshed and wars. It was during this period that Dr. Karl Peters made all his treaties with the African chiefs. Whenever he came across a stubborn chief he used alcohol to get his way. Once a chief was invited to his tent he was given gin to drink. When drunk, the chief was asked to sign a treaty written in German. Many of the treaties shown by Germans to other European powers during the Conference for the partition of Africa were signed by the chiefs in this condition.

The Germans did not have an easy time with the chiefs. With the aid of spears and old-fashioned guns obtained from the Arabs, the latter revolted against the cruel German rule. It is encouraging to note that even our grandfathers in those days valued their independence and were ready to fight for it.

After the Germans had stamped out all the rebellions, they started a programme of development. The present capital city of the territory was put into shape at this time. The Germans, with their great interest in agriculture, set up a research station at a place called Amani and a landmark of the German skill in development is the Central Railway Line, uniting the east and west of the country. The Germans were not given enough time to finish their projects, for in 1914 came the First World War.

Of all the African countries which participated in the war, Tanganyika suffered the most. The Africans were made to fight against their will. Economic activity stopped and the territory entered a second 'dark ages.' When

the war had finished in other parts of the world, it was still in full swing in Tanganyika. The last fighting ended in 1919 when the British, the Belgians and the South Africans gained control of the whole territory. With the end of the First World War came the end of German rule in the territory.

### **The British Rule**

The League of Nations gave German East Africa, with the exception of the ancient kingdoms of Ruanda and Urundi (which went to Belgium), to the British Government as a Mandated Territory. The mandatory system of government gave way to the Trusteeship System in 1945, and active political life on the part of the Africans started some time after the end of the Second World War.

In 1920 the name of the territory was changed to Tanganyika. In that year the territory saw the beginning of the British rule on its soil. During this time the British founded a better system of transportation than the one in existence during the German occupation. The German administration had been conducted by a Governor and an Advisory Council. This system was continued by the British until 1926 when the Governor formed the first Legislative Council, consisting of both officials and unofficial members nominated by himself. All the members were Europeans.

This is how "democracy" worked in Tanganyika: The eight million Africans living in the territory were not represented in the Council—the main law-making body affecting their lives. The British administration ruled the country as if it were a Colony, and they refused to tell the Africans that their country was being administered under an agreement with the League of Nations.

Education in the real sense of the word was introduced by the British. At first, only sons of chiefs could go to school, but gradually education was opened to the sons of the general public. The education system was initiated so that Africans could better serve their European masters. Children were only taught to write and read. A few who were lucky enough to go to missionary schools obtained a reasonably good education and learnt about countries neighbouring their territory. On the whole, everything that was done by way of education was directed at indoctrinating the Africans with an idea that they were inferior to the Europeans. The British were very successful in this, for as late as 1950 many Africans considered it a privilege to be saluted by a white woman. This fact alone contributed much to the late awakening of the African in the field of political nationalism.

### **Tanganyika under the Trusteeship Council**

The end of the Second World War marked the end of the League of Nations. Tanganyika's mandatory system was changed into the Trusteeship system under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organisation. From 1945 to 1948 the African was a sleeping giant. Few Africans knew what was happening beyond the boundaries of their districts. This was the best of all times for the British administrator. Wherever he went he was crowned with the word "Bwana" (Master). At this time a student was regarded very bright if, in an essay, he

included the phrase: "May the Union Jack fly for ever and ever on our soil." I remember writing an essay for the competition arranged by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in which I included the above statement. My essay was judged the best among all the entries received from different secondary schools in the territory. I was awarded a medal for it.

It was after the Second World War that the Africans were, for the first time, represented in the Legislature. Two Africans were appointed to represent eight million Africans. In 1947 there were seven Europeans, four Africans and three Asians on the Unofficial side of the Legislature, and in 1949 the Governor set up an inter-racial committee to consider the constitutional future of the territory.

The statement given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on June 25, 1952, gave some new hope to the Africans. It stated:

"First, it is the intention to continue to administer the territory in accordance with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement until the ultimate goal of self-government is reached. . . ."

Here the British Government publicly declared that the territory was to be ruled as a Trust Territory and not as a Colony. Self-government was moreover declared the final goal of British rule in the Territory.

### The Tanganyika African National Union

Before 1954, Tanganyika was said to be the most peaceful country in East Africa. Suddenly it was deprived of this title for, on July 7, 1954, it formed a national movement to fight for its independence. The people were demanding freedom from their British 'masters.' T.A.N.U., the Tanganyika African National Union, established under the leadership of Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, a graduate of Edinburgh University, acted as a catalyst in the political test tube.

In the same year, the United Nations' Visiting Commission recommended a time limit of 20 years in which Tanganyika was to become independent. The British Government regarded the report as "wild and extremist," and turned a deaf ear to it. The reply of the Africans was to send Julius Nyerere to the United Nations to present their case before the Trusteeship Council. The Africans did not cling too much to a time limit; what they wanted was an assurance from the British Government that democratic institutions would be introduced into the territory. Dr. Nyerere did not return with any material results from the United Nations, but his visit left a good psychological impression in the minds of the members of the Trusteeship Council, who realised that Tanganyika needed its own government.

Partly as a result of the pressure Dr. Nyerere and his organisation exerted on the British Government and partly as a result of the recommendations by the inter-racial Committee set up by the Governor in 1949, the Legislature, as from April, 1955, was enlarged to have 61 members: 30 of these were the nominated Unofficial members, 10 from each race. The Executive Council was also enlarged and had three ex-officio members, five nominated official members and six unofficial members, two from each race.

The Africans were not at all satisfied with this. What they wanted was full independence. They just could not see the reasoning behind equal representation in the Legislative Council with the other races who were a minority section of the population.

T.A.N.U. was well organised by now. "UHURU" (freedom) was at this time the form of greeting among Africans. The Tanganyika African realised that it was inhuman to be ruled by a foreign nation. The sleeping giant had awoken!

### The First General Election

In September, 1958, elections were introduced in the territory. The qualifications for a vote were eight years of education and an income of £150 sterling, or the holding of a post in local government. The total result of these qualifications—where only 40% of the children go to school and where the average annual income per capita is £17 sterling—was that out of a population of 9,000,000 only 58,000 got the vote!

The elections took place in two rounds: the first in September, 1958, and the second in February, 1959. T.A.N.U. African candidates and candidates of other races who were supported by T.A.N.U. swept the boards.

The result of the election was a clear indication that the electorate had endorsed T.A.N.U.'s demands, for in its election manifesto, the movement demanded a majority of elected members in the Legislature, a majority of elected Ministers in the Executive. Universal Adult Franchise and the abolition of the triplicate vote, i.e. the removal of a voting system whereby a voter must vote for three candidates, one from each race. T.A.N.U. promised to see that the demands of the people were respected. It worked so hard after the elections that on July 1, 1959, the Government was forced to introduce five elected Ministers in a Council of 12. The Government also set up a Constitutional Committee to determine the next stage in the constitutional evolution of the Territory.

### December 15, 1959

This is a date which will be remembered by Tanganyikans for centuries to come. T.A.N.U. had always been demanding the introduction of Responsible Government in the Territory. The time came when the Government had to be given an ultimatum under which it had to grant Self-Government within the period ending 31 December, 1959, or else "positive action" would have been staged.

On 15 December 1959, the Government announced that the Territory would be granted Responsible Government on 1 October, 1960, after a General Election to be held earlier than that date. The people of Tanganyika accepted the new Constitution, but were opposed to a qualitative franchise which was again implemented. One of the qualifications was the possession of £75, sterling, a year. In the words of Dr. Nyerere, it was "absurd to make mere literacy, or the possession of £75 a year, a necessary qualification for the right to vote, and that the difference between £75 and £74 should be so great as to make all the difference between first and second class citizens."

## Tanganyika And Its Minority Groups

Tanganyika Africans have accepted the wish of minority groups to be considered as Tanganyikans. By acceptance any Asian or European living in the Territory may become a Tanganyikan. We Tanganyikan Africans are opposed, however, to the idea some people may have of playing dual role. We do not want a Mr. Smith who wants to be a Tanganyikan for the benefit of England, or an Indian who, at the expense of Tanganyika, wants to enrich India. We want to build a society of Tanganyikans working for Tanganyika.

The policy of the Africans is well explained by the Publicity Secretary of TANU in one of his newsletters :

"TANU believes in democracy. TANU believes that all those who have made this country (Tanganyika) their home should not be denied the rights of citizenship. TANU argues that the example that South Africa has shown to the world makes all sane human beings doubt the moral values that those 'Nationalists' observe. It is an example which is a negation of the very foundations of civilization."

Tanganyika has now Self-Government. The transitional period of independence is a trying one. This is the time when the Tanganyikan will have to work hard for the well-being of his country. That is why "UHURU" alone is no longer a greeting—but "UHURU NA KAZI" (Freedom and work). This is a time when our people can prove to "doubting Thomases" overseas that no one need fear the African, and, in the words of Dr. Nyerere, that "Tanganyika will show the way, and we cannot afford to fail."

## One-Party System

Of the 71 members of the Legislative Council or embryo Parliament in Tanganyika, 70 are either members of TANU or people who have been supported by it. The Legislative Council thus has members of only one party. Fears have been expressed by a number of people that there is a danger of the government becoming a dictatorship. This is an unfounded fear.

Tanganyika is a democratic country, and it will remain so. As long as freedom and the well-being of the individual is assured and there is the institution of elections whereby the government could be changed or replaced without resort to force, Tanganyika will remain a democratic country.

In the 1960 General Election in Great Britain, the major parties all tried to win all the seats in the Parliament. Should we say Britain was not a democratic country if one party had succeeded in winning all the seats? The one party system in our Legislature merely shows that the people of Tanganyika have full confidence in the elected members who have the support of the party in power. Difference of opinion will spring up within the party; otherwise there would be no sense in holding Legislative Sessions.

## Africanisation Of The Civil Service

This is a matter which will present a difficult problem to the Government. Everybody knows that Self-Govern-

ment is a mockery to a country if its major services are under foreigners. Tanganyika sees this mockery, but at the same time the Government faces the problem of lack of competent trained personnel. Furthermore, the people will very easily lose faith in their government if promotions to higher posts to Tanganyikans are long delayed.

The Government has not turned a deaf ear to this problem. A Commission for Africanisation has been formed in the Chief Minister's office to deal with the training of personnel to man the different machinery of the Government. Already, at the time of writing, the Ministry of Information has been 55% Africanised.

Tanganyika has many problems which can be solved only by Tanganyikans who will have to work as a team in removing diseases, ignorance and poverty, three evils that abound in the country. This is a time when friendly nations will have to show their sympathy to the poor but potentially rich newly emerging Tanganyika. Already almost on the eve of achieving responsible government, Tanganyika has been promised grants of more than £1,000,000 from Britain. The U.S. Development Fund has given a loan of £678,000 towards the cost of rebuilding the 142-mile road between Mwanza and the port of Musoma on Lake Victoria. This is just a start, we hope more help will come from friendly nations. This, and this only, will help in building a Tanganyika nation composed of different people with different colours and different standards of living. Such a nation will find it very difficult to make its people live together in harmony and understanding.

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# Truth

## A Modern Ethiopian Short Story

By Tadesse Liben (translated by Dr. Paulos Quanna)

### INTRODUCING THE AUTHOR

*Ato Tadesse Liben, who is in his late twenties, comes from the province of Wollo. After attending the Haile Sellassie Secondary School in Addis Ababa he joined the staff of the State Bank of Ethiopia where he has been employed for the last eleven years, being now manager of the Addis Ketema Branch. His first book of short stories was published in 1957 under the title "Maskaram" (the first month of the Ethiopian year, which begins in September). The second collection, from which this story is taken, is called "Lelau Menged" (The Other Way, or the Alternative) and appeared in 1959. The author is at present preparing a further volume of short stories.*

She was very beautiful. People talked about her eyes, her lips, her fine row of teeth, her well-shaped legs, her waist-line, and her beauty in general. She was 18 years old and of average height. Her expensive dresses were tailored according to the most modern fashion, costing 50 to 60 dollars<sup>1</sup> for the tailoring alone. Her name was Almaz Demissie.

Her father, Ato Demissie Abebe was of a dark brown complexion, and so fat that, in carrying his huge person about, he would breathe heavily like an overladen donkey going uphill. Perspiration would cover the whole of his fat face dripping down to his fat belly. When he tried to wipe a stream of sweat off one side of his face another stream trickled down the other side. His fatness was not like that of some unfortunate persons who, without the comforts of life, get fat spontaneously. Ato Demissie's obesity came from being excessively rich and basking in the comforts of life. His wealth was proverbial. He owned 33 gashas<sup>2</sup> of land in Arrusi, seven gashas in Adda, and 36 gashas of coffee plantation in Jimma. The heads of cattle he owned in Arrusi alone exceeded 1,000. The fattened ones, which were brought from time to time to provide beef for his household, were either covered with a piece of cloth or kept near Nefas Silk, on the outskirts of Addis Ababa, till darkness came, in order to protect them from the evil eye.<sup>3</sup> The slices of raw meat<sup>4</sup> from the slaughtered cattle that were served at his table were so savoury that once a person had tasted a piece, he would always ask for more.

<sup>1</sup> 7 Ethiopian dollars = £1.

<sup>2</sup> 1 gasha = 400,000 sq. metres, approx. 100 acres.

<sup>3</sup> There is a belief in Ethiopia that a fat cow or a handsome child, when eyed with admiration, either dies or is spoiled because of the "evil eye."

<sup>4</sup> Raw meat is an Ethiopian delicacy, often served as part of an Ethiopian feast.

In addition to the grain and coffee harvested from his farms and plantations which kept the family oven continuously busy, he had an annual income in cash of 50,000 to 60,000 dollars. Of this money some was used for building modern houses in the town, bearing rents of 500 and 1,000 dollars a month; some was locked in his safe, and some was always available in plenty in his pockets for the pleasure of it. Whenever Ato Demissie, grunting, put his hands into any pocket he drew out 10, 50 and 100 dollar notes and whenever Almaz asked him for 20 dollars he gave her 50; and when she asked for 65 dollars, he gave her 100. In general what one could read on the face of the master of the household was: "Come, my soul, eat and drink; my daughter, live in luxury. Care not for tomorrow. If the worst comes to the worst, I have many modern buildings and those foreigners to pay the rent."

For Admassu Ayele, a sturdy young man, things were quite different as soon as he left school for employment. The first month, until he received his salary, he found it difficult to pay 15 dollars rent for a room, buy a canvas bed, blankets and sheets. He had nobody to turn to in this world. He came through the first month only because he was able to go to his old school and get food and shelter for the night, after promising the school administrator to buy him a present as soon as he received his first pay.

His father, Ato Ayele, died when Admassu was a four-year-old child. Ato Ayele Aytenfisu did not leave a piece of land or a small house for his son, not because he was not clever or lacked foresight in life: on the contrary, he was a diligent worker and a shrewd merchant. However, as had been the fate of many an unfortunate merchant, Mother Luck had not smiled upon him. Thus, he was simply destined to lead a hand-to-mouth existence.

Despite these misfortunes, Admassu was not a simple-minded child. It was true that when he left school life was difficult for him. But he adapted himself quite quickly to these hard circumstances. The main thing was that he knew that he could depend only upon himself. He bowed and scraped until his brow was coated with dust; he called upon high-ranking gentlemen in order to gain their acquaintance and future support. Moreover, he led a scrupulous and thrifty existence based upon the very necessities of life. So much so that saving 2,000 dollars within two years, in the good old days when prices were low, he bought 4,000 square metres of land at Kabena at the rate of 50 cents per square metre. In three years the value of this land had risen to five dollars per square metre. In fact, some people predicted that the value of

the land would sky-rocket to a record price of 10 dollars per square metre. Be that as it may, Admassu did not want to wait for that opportunity. He sold 3,000 square metres of his land for 15,000 dollars and upon the remaining piece of land he had a wonderful house built at a cost of 7,000 dollars. The house consisted of eight rooms and was a magnificent sight to see. He furnished it with modern furniture that cost him 2,000 dollars. Soon afterwards, he bought a nice little car for 4,200 dollars. Over and above this he was liked and highly praised by his superiors for his ability, efficiency and integrity—so much so that he gained consideration for promotion. His initial salary was 150 dollars but later it was raised to 450 dollars. In fact life for Admassu, at this time appeared not as the ". . . visitation of the iniquity of the father unto the child . . ." but rather as "compensation of the child for the short-comings of the father."

\* \* \*

The proper thing to do at this stage for one who is in his youth and on whom fortune has so generously smiled is to get married and have a family. Admassu was thus looking for a life partner, and for this reason went to girls' schools whenever he had a chance, to have a look, asking his friends, too, to look out for a wife for him.

However, the way to look for a life partner is not like going to the sheep market and selecting a fat and gorgeous sheep to take home, nor is it like picking one from the pen. A life partner may turn up one day at some unexpected place, perhaps whilst waiting for the bus or entering a shop; or she may be found in someone else's house.

Having for some time pursued his goal unsuccessfully, Admassu was one day returning home from work at 6 p.m. when he encountered Almaz crossing the Ras Makonnen Bridge and heading towards Saba Dereja. He immediately felt a pang in his heart, for he was instantly captured by her beauty and bearing. Stopping his car on the curb he followed her at a distance and found out where she lived. That very evening, he penned a love-letter and handed it to her the next morning as she was leaving her house. Within a month they were on kissing terms. Many week-ends they went for rides in the car and he did not refrain from buying her certain presents. When he became convinced that he would marry her, he began to introduce her to his friends and tell them more about her. In spite of all this, there were, among his best friends, some who were not happy at his coming to know her. The reason was that many people spoke badly of her. "She is no good. You see her at every party. She has many boy friends. But the one she loves most of all is one called Tessema."

Some friends of Admassu's came and told him these things. Amongst them was one—Debebe, who was a very close friend of Admassu. One day while sitting together at home with Admassu, Debebe brought the matter up in the course of a conversation.

"Listen to me, Admassu," said Debebe, "I advise you to forget this girl. I agree she is beautiful and has a wealthy father. But what good is the wealth a woman brings you? I am telling you, if you don't believe what I am saying, you will regret it later. She has a lover named Tessema for whom she has the deepest affection."

Admassu listened silently but later he began to speak.

"Debebe, don't give ear to all that rubbish," said Admassu standing up and beginning to pace up and down the room. "It is all a lie. She loves only me. And I asked her at the beginning whether she had promised to marry anybody else, or if she had a lover, and she told me she had none."

Debebe was incredulous. "Do you think that she would admit that she had a lover," he remarked wryly, and added: "Is she that much of a fool?"

Admassu was very much agitated.

"I did not compel her," Admassu said. "Why shouldn't she tell me the truth? And if she did not tell me the truth only God knows about it. But as for me I can only accept and believe what I hear from the woman I love and expect to have as my legitimate wife."

That was a sincere statement on the part of Admassu. Never in his life had he entertained any suspicion about a person's honesty nor had he ever questioned anyone about another person's integrity. He only accepted what people told him about themselves. Thus, what he believed about Almaz was what Almaz personally had told him. However, it was in Admassu's nature to make irrevocable decisions if some hidden truth emerged. If he found a person committing an act he never expected him to commit, he would there and then decide never to have anything further to do with him. He always wanted to believe not hearsay, but what he could see and hear directly from the very lips of the person concerned. Almaz always fulfilled his requests promptly. She was there whenever and wherever he wanted her, and if he wished her to wait for him at a certain place and time, she was there 10 minutes before him. From the day they first knew each other, he never saw her going or talking with anybody he did not know. Hence he could not believe a word of what Debebe was telling him concerning Almaz. In spite of Admassu's reluctance to believe such stories, Debebe continued to bring him scandalous rumours. Ten days after their tête-à-tête, Debebe came again and started talking about Almaz with special stress upon her unfaithfulness and bad character, advising Admassu to give her up completely. Admassu, however, stubbornly refused to heed Debebe's words. At last Debebe got up angrily and, walking up and down the room, said:

"So you mean to say, she has never departed from your words and never will. And she does not have a lover called Tessema. Isn't that what you are saying?"

"Yes," answered Admassu.

"All right, be it as you say," said Debebe impatiently. "But would you do me one last favour if I asked you?"

Debebe and Admassu had a very close friendship that was bound by mutual respect and affection. It was not a new bond of casual acquaintance. It was a friendship nurtured during their childhood and strengthened while they both attended the same elementary school learning the first stages of reading and writing side by side. They were together for six years in the elementary school and five years in the high school and after school five years in the same job. All in all, they had known each other for 16 years and eaten off the same plate, so to speak. It was true that Debebe did not have the affluence that Admassu had. He was a person who believed in the present, who lived for the hour. He never had any care or thought

for what was to come and, therefore, he did not have a car or a house that he could call his own. However, Debebe never envied those who, because of their thrifty living, had earned and owned a fortune. He was pleased with Admassu's financial success and considered it as his own success in life. Therefore Admassu, knowing all this about Debebe, did not want to disappoint him by refusing to hear his request, although Debebe was meddling with his own private life. After weighing all this Admassu turned to Debebe and said:

"All right, Debebe, tell me what it is you require and I will do it."

Then Debebe began to speak.

"Next Saturday, a dinner-dance is being given by Almaz's school. The party will be held at the Itegue Hotel."

Admassu was surprised and said: "She has told me about it but how did you come to know about it?"

"Never mind about that," answered Debebe, "She must have told you about the party in order that you two might go there together?"

"Yes," said Admassu, "but I have not made up my mind yet."

"Well then, don't go, and tell her not to go either."

"But why?" asked Admassu confused.

"I am coming to that," said Debebe. "You first tell her not to go there. Then you go by yourself to Itegue Hotel and hide near the entrance. Then you will see that Almaz will come there, as sure as death, escorted by none other than Tessema."

Admassu was grieved to hear Debebe's low opinion of Almaz. However, he had agreed to Debebe's request and therefore he told Almaz that they would not be going to the party, asking her not to go herself under any circumstances. Then, as planned, on Saturday evening at approximately seven o'clock he went secretly to Itegue Hotel and, as Debebe had told him, made himself inconspicuous near the entrance. At 8 p.m. the guests began to arrive and, after 10 or 20 minutes, many girls escorted by many young men, some in cars and others on foot started to arrive and enter the hotel lounge where the party was to be held. Admassu waited for Almaz to show up until 10 p.m. However, she was not among the throng of young ladies and gentlemen who were passing by the minute through the entrance into the hall that never seemed to be filled by their presence. At 10-15 p.m., after all guests had arrived and half an hour had passed without the appearance of further guests, Admassu went home. He spent a sleepless night of self-reproach: he felt a guilty conscience for believing and doing what Debebe had told him and suspecting Almaz. There and then Admassu decided to tell Debebe, when he would next meet him, that Almaz had not come to the party and that she was not what he thought she was and, moreover, to warn him not to mention her name again in such a connection.

He did not have to wait long to tell him this.

Next morning before he was out of bed there was a knock on his door. It was Debebe and as soon as he entered he said, "Now, then. You did go yesterday, didn't you?"

Slowly and pensively Admassu answered. "Yes, I went,

but Almaz did not come, as you had predicted."

Debebe, in a pose that showed defiance, stared at the ceiling. Admassu did not like Debebe's attitude and, staring at him asked: "What are you driving at? What do you mean by that?"

Debebe was undaunted and in a stern voice he answered, "Almaz was there yesterday!"

Upon hearing these words, Admassu could not hold back his anger. He was furious. He was shaking and swaying with rage.

"You are a black liar," said Admassu with a voice of fury. "Just because I did not want such things to come to pass, I made it a point to stay watching up to 10-15 p.m. Let me tell you, in short, that Almaz is not the type of girl you think she is, and she was not there!"

"I am telling you she *was* there," insisted Debebe.

At this time, Admassu, who had been nursing a secret anger at Debebe's insinuations, answered him: "That is quite enough. I have already heard too much."

Debebe was not disturbed by Admassu's sudden outburst of anger and continued:

"At 9-15 p.m. there appeared a young lady dressed in a very fine evening dress spreading down to her ankles; crowning her head was a specially made black hat from which a veil descended covering her face. Didn't you notice this same young lady arriving at the party escorted by a good-looking young man who was attired in a dark evening suit?"

Admassu had certainly seen such a young lady and in answer to Debebe's question, he turned his face toward him in silent acceptance of what he was saying.

At this point, Debebe got up and, with a flourish said: "That young lady was Almaz in person! I knew that all this would come to pass and was waiting secretly inside the hall where the party was held. I recognized her after she lifted her hat and veil, and the dashing young man on whose arm she came was none other than Tessema!"

Admassu did not utter a word. He only got up, opened the door and asked Debebe to leave the house at once.

Debebe did not leave but stood where he was and in a clear voice, said: "I have told you Admassu, and what I told you was nothing but the truth. She is not the type of girl that would suit you. She is nothing but an immoral girl. If she were a good girl I would not have worried so much. On the contrary would I not be pleased if you were married to her, if she were a good girl?"

"Yes, now I am beginning to understand that you would not be pleased with my marriage to her. From now on you are nothing to me. You are not my friend at all. Let me tell you this for the last time," said Admassu, controlling his anger but with a decisive gesture, "Almaz is not the kind of girl that you are trying to convince me she is. All this time, who knows what your designs were concerning Almaz. Perhaps you want to marry her yourself by creating friction between her and me."

Debebe was aghast when he heard this point-blank denunciation and, with an awed stare, he asked Admassu: "Me, Debebe?"

Admassu without changing his countenance, retorted: "Yes, you."

Debebe was aroused, and in a desperate tone said: "Are you really saying that to me, Admassu?"

Admassu was in the same mood and answered: "Yes, I say that to you, Debebe."

\* \* \*

That was the end of their friendship and the breaking-point of the relationship between Admassu and Debebe. They ceased greeting each other when they met on the street and behaved as if they had never been friends. A few days later, Admassu sent some elders to Almaz's house and formally asked for her hand in marriage. He paid 400 dollars for the clothes Almaz had chosen for the engagement. He also paid 40 dollars for a pair of shoes, and 47 for a silk shawl; for 180 he purchased gold jewelry, including his own engagement ring. His own outfit, including shoes and dark wedding clothes, amounted to 400 dollars. The total expenses for the celebration amounted roughly to 500 dollars.

At first Admassu was grieved that Debebe did not participate in all this gaiety and festivity. Later, however, he consoled himself by simply shrugging it off: it was all Debebe's doing and only Debebe himself was to blame. The wedding was to take place six months after the engagement. Admassu had ample time to prepare for the great day that was to be the beginning of a happy period in his life. He bought a double-bed, spacious enough for a couple, a partitioned wardrobe which went well with the bed, and all the equipment in which his future wife, the gorgeous and ravishingly beautiful Almaz could keep her cosmetics and other aids to beauty. He furnished this room in such a way that it would have graced a queen's boudoir. He was also laying aside money monthly, to buy grain and butter for the wedding occasion. While all this preparation was going on, Almaz, one unfortunate Tuesday morning, was walking from her father's hall to the kitchen and all of a sudden tripped and fell. She developed strong pains and when her family took her to a hospital her trouble was diagnosed as appendicitis. This catastrophe, alas! took place only 20 days before the date fixed for the wedding.

Admassu asked the doctor if she could take drugs for the time being and postpone the operation until after the wedding. But the doctor answered that her sickness was not something that could be postponed; it needed immediate operation. Hence, it was of necessity decided that Almaz should have the operation before the wedding date. Almaz was thoroughly frightened at the prospect of undergoing such an operation and told Admassu about her fears. One day she looked at him wistfully and said, "Admassuye,<sup>5</sup> I don't know why, but I am afraid. Even when I am well my weak heart makes me afraid of death, let alone when I have to be operated on under an anaesthetic."

Admassu never left her bedside, assuring and reassuring her that no harm would come of it. He tried to calm her by telling her that he himself had undergone the same operation before.

"Don't you worry Almaz," he was saying. "They don't

just operate without precautions. The injection and its anaesthetic effect is all calculated according to your strength. Apart from the surgeon, there is an expert responsible just for this. Besides, appendicitis has nowadays ceased to be regarded as a major ailment. The operation that removes it has become like ridding cattle of ticks. Without going into all these details, I have already told you that I underwent the same operation for the same sickness six years ago. Look at me. I am hale and sound and as healthy as a bull. Nothing happened to me and I left the hospital after eight days. You will regain your consciousness three or four hours after the operation. All that happens is that for 20 or 30 minutes after the operation you may rave and talk unconsciously. But you will not know what you said unless the people who were standing beside you tell you about it later.

"For instance, when I had my operation, I was in the first football team of my school, playing left-wing. The week I was admitted to the hospital and expecting to undergo the operation, my team was playing against another school for the cup that used to be awarded to the winning team in the Inter-Schools Annual Sports Competition. During that week some members of my team came to visit me at the hospital and I was discussing with them our strategy on the football field. I was worried about my team's performance as I badly wanted our team to be victorious. So the day I was operated on I was told that I had been unconsciously shouting: 'We must not lose! We must not lose! We must win the cup!'"

On the day that was fixed for Almaz's operation, Admassu absented himself from his work and stayed at the hospital. Before she was taken to the operation room, Admassu slipped into her room and comforted her for the last time, and as they came to take her to the operation room on the trolley, he approached her and whispered: "Cheer up darling." Then, he kissed her and left the room.

The operation took 40 minutes, during which Admassu walked restlessly up and down the corridor, praying for her safety as fervently as a saint prays for a sinner. "Dear God," he was praying, "please, don't call her to Thee today and help her to endure this day's trial. Give her strength. Mayest Thou help us to fulfil what was started by Thy Good Grace and save me from being called a bad omen."<sup>6</sup>

After the operation they carried her on the same trolley back to her room. Admassu was walking up and down in her room waiting for Almaz to regain consciousness. Her parents too were there, waiting. Some 20 minutes later Almaz began to move. Admassu, overwhelmed with joy, and shedding idle tears caused only by his ecstasy, approached the bed and knelt beside her. Then Almaz's voice was heard:

"Tessema! . . . Tessema! . . . Tessemeye!"

<sup>5</sup> Admassuye is not a different name but in Amharic we use "iye" as a possessive adjective at the end of a noun. Thus "Admassuye" simply means "My Admassu."

<sup>6</sup> In Ethiopia there is a belief that when a child is born into a family and the father or mother dies, or when a person is married into a family and the person's wife or husband dies, the survivor is thought of as a "Guh"—the nearest English equivalent being a bad omen.



Abebe Bikila, Ethiopian winner of the 1960 Olympic Marathon, arrives at Addis Ababa Airport: the crowds turn out  
Photo, Haile Mezemghe

## Ethiopia Honours Olympic Victor



Abebe Bikila, Marathon Winner

Ethiopia's Victor in the Olympic marathon event in Rome on September 15, 1960, received a hero's welcome for his outstanding feat of snatching the first Olympic Gold Medal for his country in the marathon duel against some of the world's best runners.

Long before the time scheduled for the arrival of the plane bringing the Ethiopian Olympic team home, Addis Ababa airport and the city's main streets leading in the direction of the airport began to become crowded with welcoming crowds. All roads appeared to lead not as the saying has it, to Rome, but to Addis Ababa airport.

### Reception

Among the packed crowd at the airport were included all categories of the city's population—high-ranking government officials, white collar workers, and ordinary folk. The Imperial Body Guard, of which the Olympic victor is a member, was well represented. The Imperial Body Guard band, decked out in full dress red tunics and green bloomers was on hand to add music to the occasion.

### Hero's Welcome

When the Olympic marathon victor, Abebe Bikila, emerged from the plane's door with the Olympic marathon gold medal dangling from his neck, he was met with a wave of prolonged hand-clapping by the enormous crowd. Descending, he was escorted to a raised platform to receive additional plaudits of the multitude and to be almost overwhelmed with bouquets of flowers in his honour sent by different organisations, including foreign communities, of the city. Abebe



Crowds in the centre of Addis Ababa are thick: everyone wishes to greet the hero

Bikila was modest and speechless through all this welcoming honour—seeming to prefer to let his great marathon victory at the Olympics speak for him and for itself.

#### Procession

But the great welcome did not end at the airport. The marathon victor was raised onto a platform on a bedecked truck, with the five traditional Olympic rings intertwined near him, for the slow drive through the city's packed streets. Behind Abebe Bikila's triumphant truck followed his fellow team members in another truck. As the marathon victor's truck slowly wended its way through packed streets, there was profuse hand-clapping, singing and dancing in the streets.

#### Emperor's Congratulations

Arriving at the Imperial Palace, Abebe Bikila and his team-mates were greeted by His Imperial Majesty, who warmly praised Gold Medallist Abebe Bikila for his marathon victory in the following words:

*"We are very much pleased, for you have ably shown to the world that sport is neither new nor foreign to Ethiopia.*

*"We have been closely following the other Ethiopian Olympic athletes who have also done their best.*

*"We see before us your friend who fractured his arm during the bicycle race, and this testifies that all of you have done your best at Olympics.*

*"We are pleased to witness today the first crowning event of the sports organization which we sponsored in our own lifetime.*

*"To win the laurel of world victory in a race which demands spiritual and physical strength is a significant event that brings global reputation to our country.*

*"The precedent laid down by you opens the road for future generations for better hope and greater honours."*

*The Emperor then graciously decorated Abebe Bikila with the Chevalier of the Order of the Star of Ethiopia.*



The runner receives a bouquet

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# The Paintings of Edward Bowden

Ethiopia with its scenic beauty, its brilliant intensity of light, and its colourful scenes has been an inspiration to many artists.

The British artist, Edward Bowden, who studied at the Royal College of Art in 1922 and was appointed official British war artist in 1940, came to Ethiopia in the Liberation Campaign. Besides painting battle scenes, he produced paintings of St. George's Cathedral, Addis Ababa, the Trinity Cathedral, and a balcony at the Menelik palace, photographs of which appear in these pages.

These paintings deserve a chapter when the history of Ethiopia's impact on world art is written.



St. George's Cathedral, Addis Ababa—from a painting by Edward Bowden

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Holy Trinity Cathedral, Addis Ababa—from a painting by Edward Bowden



A balcony at the Menelik Palace, Addis Ababa—from a painting by Edward Bowden

# A Note on Ethiopian Chess

Ethiopia deserves an honourable place in the great history of chess which appears to have been traditionally popular in court circles and among the nobility. The game was known in Amharic as *Sentherej*, a name borrowed from the Arabs who called it *Shatranj*, a corruption of the Persian *Chatrang*, itself derived from the Sanskrit *chaturanga*.

In the early sixteenth century the Emperor Lebua Dengel (1508-1540) is said to have played chess as well as cards with the Venetian artist Gregorio or Hieronimo Bicini, as was related by the Ethiopian ecclesiastic, Brother Thomas of Ganget, in his conversations with the Italian Alessandro Zorzi.<sup>1</sup>

Sahle Sellassie, the early nineteenth century King of Shoa, was another notable chess player. The French travellers Comkes and Tamisier, who visited Ethiopia in 1835-37, relate that he used to play in the evening with one of his courtiers, who, they allege, always took care to allow his master to win.<sup>2</sup> Sahle Sellassie's habit of playing chess is also referred to in Gabre Sellassie's chronicle of the reign of Menelik II where it is stated that the latter sovereign declared that his ancestor had prophesied the establishment of Addis Ababa while he was at play, sitting under a tree in the Filwoha area.<sup>3</sup>

A quarter of a century earlier the British traveller Henry Salt, writing of his visit to Tigre in 1809-10, says that Ras Walde Sellassie, the ruler of that province, was a great chess man. He points out, however, that the game then played in Ethiopia "differed more from ours than we at first supposed." Ethiopian chess in fact was the old game as it had existed in other parts of the world before the changes which occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the olden days there was no Queen, instead there was a piece called *farz* or *firz*, also known as *farzan*, *farzin* and *farzie*, signifying a "counsellor," "minister" or "general." The name was subsequently Latinized into *farzie* or *fercia*, and rendered into French as *fierce* or *fiege*, after which it is supposed to have been called *vierge*, or 'virgin,' and is thought by extension to have become a woman and hence a Queen. Another theory was that as the pawn was promoted on reaching the eighth square to become a *farz*, this piece was conceived of like the *dame* in draughts, and for this reason became known as a Queen. The *farz* traditionally moved only one square diagonally and was consequently the weakest piece on the board, the Queen's present immense power only being acquired in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Salt suggests that in early nineteenth century Ethiopia the game was still more or less played as of old for he says: "the Queen moves diagonally, and only one square at a time." He adds that "the Castles either have not the same power in the European games, or the

players do not make use of them so frequently, nor do they seem to value a Castle as much as a Knight."

The Emperor Theodore's friend and adviser, Walter Plowden,<sup>5</sup> who wrote half a century later, has left a more detailed account of the game as he saw it played in the middle of the nineteenth century. He says that the chessboard, which had of course 64 squares as in Europe, was generally made of a piece of red cloth with squares marked out by strips of ivory black sewn at equal distances. This fact would suggest that the game, or at least the type of chessboard, was introduced after the thirteenth century because before that time the board is said to have been of only one colour. The chessmen, Plowden continues, were made of ivory, hippopotamus tusk or horn. Those of ivory or hippopotamus tusk were "ponderous and massive," while those of horn were much lighter. All, however, were simply made, without ornament or fancy work, their differences "being just sufficient to mark the distinction of the pieces."

Describing the powers and arrangements of the pieces he explains that the *derr* or Castles, stood at each corner of the board and moved exactly like Castles in other countries. Next to them, as elsewhere, stood the Knights who corresponded exactly to Knights as he knew them. Next to them came the *pheel*, or Bishop. This term was borrowed from the Arabic *fil*, a variant of the Persian *pil*, the word for elephant. According to Plowden this piece moved obliquely, like an ordinary Bishop, but could only advance over three squares including its own; it could not stop at the King's second square, even if vacant; it could, however, pass over any interposing piece on that square or any other.

Turning to the centre of the pieces Plowden states that the King, or *Negus*, had the same power as in Europe but was placed slightly differently, the two Kings facing each other exactly instead of being on different colours.

The *furz* (or counsellor above described) stood next to the King. He confirms that it had only the very limited power of moving one square in any direction, and could only take obliquely. The pawns, or *medaks*, were moved, he said, as in Europe and there was no obligation to take them. On reaching the eighth square they acquired the powers of a *furz* as was the case, as we have seen, in the old game.

Discussing the technique of the game, Plowden says, that it started in a "singular manner" and one which often enabled the good player to gain a decisive advantage. Both parties, he says, moved as many pieces as they could lay their hands on, presumably not in alternate order but simultaneously, until the first pawn was taken. Though at this stage of the game a stranger might suppose there was great confusion the player in fact keenly watched the moves of his opponent, and changed his tactics accordingly, frequently withdrawing the moves he had already made and substituting others so as to be in the most favourable position at the moment of the first take whether his own or his adversary's. After the first piece was taken the game proceeded more or

(continued at foot of page 95)

<sup>1</sup> O. G. S. Crawford "Ethiopian Itineraries," 1958, p. 21.  
<sup>2</sup> E. Combes and M. Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, 1838, Vol. III, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Guebre Sellassie, *Chronique du Regne de Menelik II*, 1930, Vol., p. 233.  
<sup>4</sup> III, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> George Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and Travels*, 1811, Vol. W. C. Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia*, 1868, pp. 149-51.

# Book Review

Hugh R. Wilson, Junior, *For Want of a Nail: the Failure of the League of Nations in Ethiopia* (Vantage Press, New York, 1959, \$2.25).

This little book by the son of the United States Minister in Switzerland at the time of the Italo-Ethiopian war has for its theme the poem of George Herbert:

For want of a nail the shoe is lost.  
For want of a shoe the horse is lost,  
For want of a horse the rider is lost.

Hugh R. Wilson, Senior, observed the talks at Geneva, and, as the book's "blurb" says "understood the implications of the drama for a silent, intensely interested spectator (i.e. Hitler) who took advantage of the Abyssinian smoke screen to reoccupy the Rhineland with his troops . . ."

This little book contains a useful summary of the diplomacy of the League of Nations period, as well as letters and reports from the files of Hugh R. Wilson, Senior, and a select bibliography.

Here we may recapture the true flavour of the appeasement period. René Massigli, French Delegate to the League, put the matter most bluntly to Wilson, arguing on April 17, 1936:

"The thing to do now . . . is to make peace, peace at any price and at any kind of sacrifice, even at the expense of the League of Nations. It is deplorable that this should be so, but nevertheless it is essential. No Frenchman can possibly see the Ethiopian affair and the Rhineland affair on the same plane of importance and the French are convinced to a man that the British attitude and the continuance of the Ethiopian matter are giving every encouragement to Hitler to make a *coupe de force* against Czechoslovakia.

"Massigli thought that the Ethiopians ought to be told bluntly that the situation is such that there is no help that the states are ready to give them that will come in time to save them from disaster and that they had better make their own peace."

## Ethiopian Chess—(continued from page 94)

less as in Europe. The convention was that the move was not considered settled until the player had placed the piece on the square and removed his hands from it.

Another distinctive feature of Ethiopian chess was that all forms of checkmate were not considered equally honourable. Checkmate by Castles or Knights we are told was "considered unworthy of the merest tyro," that is to say these pieces, though assisting in throwing the net round the enemy, were supposed not to deal the fatal stroke though the use of the Knight was "just endurable." Checkmate with a single Bishop was "tolerably good," but with two was applauded. Mating with one, two, or especially three or four pawns was considered the *ne plus ultra* of the game. Checkmate was considered particularly meritorious if the adversary had not been denuded of all his superior pieces, and in

William Strang, Chief of the Central European Department of the British Foreign Office, told Wilson that:

"There is no possible question as to the attitude of the British public on this matter of Abyssinia; they are determined that the British Government shall do everything in its power to prevent the aggression being successful. This, according to Strang, goes deeply into all classes of society, but there is a decided distinction between the various classes of society as to the extremes to which they are willing to go. The Liberals most vigorously, and the Labours less vigorously, have indicated that they will acquiesce in the use of force if necessary. The government, however, is determined that force shall not be used."

The British Government nevertheless found one cause for satisfaction. One thing, Strang told Wilson, had at least been "cleared up" by Mussolini's campaign: "and that is that they know that gas would be used in the next war. This was important for them since there had been considerable doubt as to whether British Labour would acquiesce in the manufacture of gas."

Nicola Titulescu, the Rumanian Delegate to the League of Nations, comes out of course as the staunchest supporter of Ethiopia, as well as a man of vision. Firmly rebutting any idea of appeasement, he made Wilson's "hair rise" by telling him that fascist agents had already engineered the death of Ducca in Rumania, Dollfus in Austria, and Barthou in France. Though himself under threat of death he declared his support for the oil embargo against Italy (though Rumania was an oil exporting country).

"It is too absurd to suppose that a nation (Italy) which could not continue its war with Abyssinia in the face of an oil embargo could take on single-handed Great Britain, and not only Great Britain but the Mediterranean states as well. This was merely blackmail and should be given the same consideration as any other blackmail."

But:—"For Want of a Nail."

fact it was "almost necessary to leave him with two," for it was customary for him when reduced to one, say Bishop or Knight, to start counting his moves, it being expected that the King should be mated before he had made seven moves with that piece. This piece moreover, could not be taken as the game was considered drawn as soon as one side had lost all its capital pieces without having been checkmated. Obstruction by the last of these pieces frequently made it impossible to finish the game in the time allowed or obliged the player to "give an ignominious mate" with a Castle or Knight which was "hailed almost as a triumph by the foe." A good player, therefore, found it advisable to leave his adversary two good pieces, such as a Castle and Bishop or Castle and Knight, for if he left him a *furz* and Bishop, for example, he would probably be forced to take one in self-defence.

(continued on page 96)

# Ethiopian Appointments

**28 September, 1960.**

H.E. Ato Getahun Tessema, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to India.

H.E. Dejazmatch Zewde Gebre Selassie has been officially informed to be His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the newly independent Republic of Somalia.

Ato Teklu Desta—Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Finance.

Ato Assefa Demissie—Director General of Census in the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

Ato Girma Belew—Secretary General of the Department of Marine.

**10 October, 1960.**

Ato Mekbib Damte—to be Vice-President of the Municipal Council of Addis Ababa.

Ato Fiseha Beyne—to be President of the Induction Committee of the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

Ato Wolde Mariam Nemera—to be departmental Chief in the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

Ato Habte Gebriel Getaneh—to be Vice-President of the Addis Ababa District Court.

Ato Aseffa Mengesha—to be Director-General of water supply in the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

Ato Lemma Gizaw—to be Director-General of Vehicles in the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

Ato Getachew Medhane—to be Director-General of Finance in the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

Ato Bekele Gueyid—to be Secretary-General of the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

Ato Abdella Abdurahman—to be Director-General of Finance in the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

Ato Yohannes Wolde Guerima—to be Director General in the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

Ato Getachew Mahteme Selassie—to be Director-General in the Municipality of Addis Ababa.

**13 October, 1960.**

Ato Gorfu Gebre Medhin—to be Director-General of excise tax in the Ministry of Finance.

Ato Wolde Medhin Wolde Mariam—to be Chief Treasurer of the Governorate-General of Shoa.

Bejrond Demissie Wolde Hawariat—to be transferred to the National Treasury as Director-General.

Ato Telahun Metike—to be Director-General of inland revenue in the Ministry of Finance.

Ato Solomon Tekalegne—to be Director-General of General Accounting in the Ministry of Finance.

Ato Zeudie Awoke—to be Chief Treasurer of the Governorate-General of Harrargie.

Ato Teferra Lemma—to be Director-General in the Ministry of Finance.

and showing the difference in their abilities. The great point is in the skilful arrangement of your pawns at the commencement, and a careful defence of them during the game, as it is generally by their moves that you hamper the adversary's King, as to be enabled to select the ground on which to give him mate."

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